Historical Bulletin

[Formerly "BULETIN NG KAPISANANG PANGKASAYSAYAN NG PILIPINAS"]

Volume IV 1960 Number 3

SEPTEMBER ISSUE

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
THE PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
MANILA

The PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Officers for 1960

President: Prof. Esteban A. de Ocampo (MLQ U. & UE)
Vice-President: Prof. Celedonio A. Ancheta (UP & PCC)
Secretary: Prof. Jorge L. Revilla (UE)
Treasurer: Prof. Nicolas Zafra
Auditor: Dr. Sixto Y. Orosa (KCR)
Governors: Dr. Domingo Abella
Dr. Ricardo A. Arcilla (UM)
Fr. Horacio de la Costa, S.J. (Ateneo)
Prof. Pacifico D. Dumandan (MIT)
Prof. Celedonio O. Resurreccion (FEU)
Prof. Leopoldo Serrano (JRNCC)
Prof. Gabriel F. Fabella (UP), *ex-officio*
PRO: Mr. Mauro Garcia (IST)
Archivist-Librarian: Mrs. Silvina C. Laya

Committee Chairmen

Finance: Digno Alba
Publications: Gabriel F. Fabella
Programs & Celebrations: Celedonio O. Resurreccion
Commonwealth 25th Anniversary: Celedonio A. Ancheta
Constitution Day: Teodoro A. Agoncillo
Southeast Asia Historical Convention: Prof. Nicolas Zafra

The *Historical Bulletin*, as a non-sectarian and non-partisan quarterly, is issued in the months of March, June, September, and December, and distributed to members of the Philippine Historical Association.

Membership fee in the P.H.A. is Six Pesos a year. Non-members pay Two Pesos per copy of the regular issues of the *Historical Bulletin*. If sent to foreign countries, the *Historical Bulletin* costs non-members Six Dollars (U.S.) a year, including postage. Members of the P.H.A. residing abroad are supplied their copies on payment of Five Dollars a year (Four Dollars for membership in the P.H.A. and One Dollar for postage). Life membership, One Hundred Pesos.

Back Copies. Back copies at slightly higher rates may be ordered from the Business Manager while the supply lasts.

Advertising Rates. Only advertisements from book publishers, scholars, and learned organizations are accepted on application.

Circulation. The *Historical Bulletin* is sent to libraries, learned professional organizations, colleges and universities, and individual scholars in the Philippines, the United States, Europe, and Asia.

Responsibility. **Articles appearing in the** Historical Bulletin **are the sole responsibility of their authors—as to fact, opinion, and stylistic expression. No article reflects the views or preferences of the Editor or of the Philippine Historical Association. The only responsibility assumed by the Editor is hospitality for ventilation in the pages of this quarterly of any idea, fact, or opinion—howsoever expressed—within its purview, which is the impartial study, research, and writing of history and related fields.**

Copyright 1960 by the Philippine Historical Association

THE PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

mourns the untimely demise on 2 October 1960

at Rome, Italy

of

CLARO MAYO RECTO

President, Constitutional Convention

Parliamentarian, Jurist, Statesman,

Literary Critic, Poet, Playwright

and a

Great Filipino Leader and Patriot

AMBETH R. OCAMPO

Ambeth Ocampo

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

The "Cry of Balintawak" as a Historical Problem *Nicolas Zafra* 1
Three Lectures on History *H. O. de la Costa, S. J.* . . . 15
Anson's Capture of the Manila Galleon *Carlos Quirino* 39
Primer Documento Impreso Sobre La Historia de las Filipinas *Luis G. Miranda* 52
Don Adriano N. Rios: Romblon's Patriarch *Gabriel F. Fabella* 63
Gregorio H. del Pilar *Sixto Y. Orosa* 72
Mga Pangyayari sa Buhay ni Andres Bonifacio *Leopoldo R. Serrano* . . . 90

SPECIAL FEATURES

Primary Documents Showing that Bishop Miguel Lino De Espeleta of Cebu was a Full-blooded Spaniard *Domingo Abella* 100
International Conference of Historians, 25-30 November 1960 108

BOOK REVIEWS *C. O. Resurreccion*

Higher Education and Philippine Culture, *Reuter, Bernad, Cruz* 132
The Future As History, *Heilbroner* 136
Malolos: The Crisis of the Republic, *Agoncillo* 140
PHA AWARDS 144
FROM THE MAIL BOX 149

Editor of this issue
C. O. RESURRECCION

The Philippine Historical Bulletin
expresses its gratitude to all who
made this issue possible, specially to

THE CONTRIBUTORS

NICOLAS ZAFRA, author of history textbooks, was former head of the Department of History, University of the Philippines, and is at present an officer of the Philippine Historical Association.

H. O. DE LA COSTA, S. J., is editor of the excellent Ateneo quarterly, **Philippine Studies.**

CARLOS QUIRINO is a noted biographer, carthographer, and Filipinologist.

LUIS G. MIRANDA of Mexico is this issue's only foreign contributor.

GABRIEL F. FABELLA was the first president of the Philippine Historical Association, former professor and head of the Department of History, University of the Philippines, and Acting Director, Clark Air Base Branch of the State university. He has authored several books.

SIXTO Y. OROSA, a physician by profession, was editor of the Special Rizal Issue (June 1960) of the **Historical Bulletin.**

LEOPOLDO R. SERRANO, professor of history and well-known contributor to well-known publications, is a researcher at the Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission.

DOMINGO ABELLA, author of **Bikol Annals,** is a professor of history at the Graduate School, Ateneo de Manila.

C. O. RESURRECCION is a faculty member of the Department of Economics and of the Department of Political Science, Far Eastern University.

PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

HISTORICAL BULLETIN

[*Formerly* Buletin ng Kapisanang Pangkasaysayan ng Pilipinas]

Volume IV SEPTEMBER 1960 Number 3

THE "CRY OF BALINTAWAK" AS A HISTORICAL PROBLEM

by Nicolas Zafra

The "Cry of Balintawak" is an outstanding landmark in Philippine history. Its character and meaning as such are quite well known. It was the opening event of the Philippine Revolution. As symbolized by the sculptured figure of a **katipunero** on top of the Balintawak monument, it was a bold and reckless act of defiance against Spanish power and sovereignty in the Philippines. It was a momentous step taken by the Katipunan Society in pursuance of its great purpose which was to liberate the Philippines from the domination of Spain. It is comparable in historical significance to well-known events of world history such as Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon, the wresting of the Magna Carta from King John at Runnymede, the Lexington and Concord affair of April 1775 where the "embattled farmers," in the words of Emerson, "fired the shot heard round the world," the storming of the Bastille, and the rising of the Spanish people against the French army of occupation in Madrid on May 2, 1808.

Because of its prominence as an event of a memorable episode in our history, it is to be presumed that at least the main facts of that event have been definitely determined. Strange as it may seem, however, our knowledge even of the more important points relating to that event is as yet uncertain and confused. Despite the fact that the event is, relatively speaking, not very far removed from us in time, and that there are people still living who, from personal experience, know many things about the Revolution, the so-called "Cry of Balintawak," as a fact of history, is still much of a historical problem.

The spot on which the event is believed to have taken place is now marked by the Balintawak monument. The monument was constructed as a popular undertaking. The direction and management of the project was placed in the hands of an executive committee composed of distinguished Filipinos, worthy representatives of the generation which launched the Philippine Revolution: Fernando Ma. Guerrero, Martin Ocampo, Faustino Aguilar, members, and Patricio Mariano, secretary. The monument was unveiled amidst impressive ceremonies on September 3, 1911.

According to the inscription on the monument, the "Cry of Balintawak" took place on August 26, 1896. This date has been officially accepted as the date for this event.

The historical accuracy of the inscription, however, is now seriously doubted. It is because the versions on that event in the writings of Filipino scholars disagree on important details of that event. To show how divergent and contradictory the accounts are with respect to this event let me present the pertinent passages from these writings.

In his book, **La Revolucion Filipina**,[1] Teodoro M. Kalaw wrote as follows:

> The Revolution began in Balintawak in the last week of August 1896. The forces of Bonifacio were not yet adequately prepared but the unexpected discovery of the Katipunan by Father Mariano Gil, pastor of Tondo, and the rigorous measures that the government took against the innocent as well as the guilty, precipitated the war. Hundreds of persons were arrested. Bonifacio at once held a meeting of Katipuneros in Kangkong, Kalookan. It was a tumultuous meeting. Everybody was excited. There were, however, some at the meeting who believed that the meeting was not propitious for an uprising. After some discussion,

---

[1] Manila, 1925.

> the radicals led by Bonifacio and Jacinto triumphed. Having made their decision, the Katipuneros swore not to return to their homes. To show that from that moment they renounced their allegiance to Spain, they tore their certificates of citizenship — the *cedula personal.* Bonifacio launched a manifesto calling upon his comrades to take up arms. The 29th of August was the day fixed for the uprising.

Leandro H. Fernandez in his work **The Philippine Republic,** wrote:[2]

> At the time the Katipunan was betrayed, a decision had been reached by the members of the Society, though not without a dissenting element, that the time to strike had come. On August 17, two days before the fateful discovery in the printing establishment of the *Diario de Manila* of the lithographic stone used by the *Katipuneros* to print their receipts, Andress Bonifacio and his associates had agreed, in a large meeting held in a village of the town of Kalookan, to begin the revolt. On August 20 another meeting held in Balintawak definitely decided the matter and, with the cry of "Long live the Philippine Republic," set August 30 as the date for a general assault on the capital. (*Andres Bonifacio y El Katipunan* by Artigas, pp. 54-56.) But the conflict began sooner, the first encounter was reported on the 23rd; another on the 26th. On August 30th, a large force under Bonifacio himself attempted to capture the powder magazine at S. Juan del Monte.

In his **History of the Philippines,** used as approved textbook in the public schools, Benitez (Conrado) has the following version:[3]

> On August 20, at the last of a series of meetings held in Kankong, a barrio of Kalookan, Bonifacio and his followers decided to attack Manila on August 29. That decision marked the triumph of the radicals under the leadership of Bonifacio and Jacinto. Resolved not to return home, the Katipuneros, as proof of the determination to break off

---

[2] **Columbia University Studies,** 1926, Vol. 122, No. 1, p. 23.
[3] Ginn & Co., 1954.

> their allegiance to Spain, tore up their *cedulas* (certificates of residence), shouting, "Long live the Philippine Republic."
>
> But the first armed encounters occurred earlier than the designated date of the uprising. Fighting took place on August 23, 25, and 26 at Pasong Tamo, Caloocan, where Bonifacio and his followers had gone to evade arrest by the armed agents of the government...
>
> The first serious encounter between the Spanish and Filipino troops occurred on August 30 when, under Bonifacio and Jacinto, the Katipuneros tried to capture the powder magazine at San Juan del Monte and even advanced as far as Santa Mesa in Manila.

In his work, **The Philippine Revolution**, Dr. Gregorio F. Zaide wrote:[4]

> After the discovery of the Katipunan, Bonifacio and his men fled to the hills of Balintawak, a few miles north of Manila, and there proclaimed on August 26, 1896, the Revolution against Spain. This event known in history as the "Cry of Balintawak," marked the beginning of the Philippine Revolution.
>
> In the morning of August 26, 1896, the Katipuneros held a stormy meeting on the yard of a shack belonging to Juan Ramos, son of Melchora Aquino. One thousand Katipuneros armed with bolos, bamboo spears, bows and arrows, and some pistols and rifles, attended the meeting. Among those present were Andres and Procopio Bonifacio, E. Jacinto, Guillermo Masankay, Apolonio Samson, Alejandro Santiago, and Tomas Remigio.
>
> Andres Bonifacio, in barong tagalog and with a bolo and a revolver, presided over the meeting, with Jacinto acting as secretary.
>
> In a fiery mood, Bonifacio explained emphatically the desperate situation, and asked what the assembled patriots would do. Those present seemed divided in their stand, for there ensued a long and heated discussion. Many want-

---

[4] Manila, 1954.

ed revolution at once; others demurred on the ground that there were not enough men, arms, money, and provisions.

Bonifacio, rising to heights of fervor, thundered: "You know the fate of our countrymen who were shot at Bagumbayan. If we return to our homes, the Spaniards will shoot us. Our organization has been discovered. We are marked men. If we do not start the uprising, the Spaniards will get us just the same. What then do you say?"

"Fight!" screamed the crowd in unison.
Bonifacio, holding his cedula certificate, symbol of vassalage to Spain, dramatically tore it to pieces. As he flung the fragments away, he shouted: "Long live Philippine Independence!"

The people, likewise, tore their cedulas and echoed the cry, littering the meeting ground with mutilated tax certificates.

Teodoro A. Agoncillo's version as found in his **The Revolt of the Masses** is, in part, as follows:[5]

> Meanwhile, the fatal news of the discovery of the *Katipunan* spread until the atmosphere became charged with fear and apprehension. Bonifacio, on that fateful date, August 19, 1896, secretly instructed his messengers to summon the leaders of the *Katipunan* in various places for a general assembly to be held on the 24th. They were to meet in Balintawak, in the suburbs of Manila...
>
> That night of August 19, Andres Bonifacio together with Jacinto, Procopio Bonifacio, Teodoro Plata and Aguedo del Rosario, slipped through the cordon of Spanish sentries, reaching Balintawak before midnight. Pio Valenzuela followed the next day. . . In the afternoon of the 21st, the rebels numbering around 500 left Balintawak and proceeded to the neighboring hamlet of Kangkong where Apolonio Samson, a Katipunan man, gave them food and lodging. Here the next morning, the revolutionists exchanged views on the revolution but did not pass any resolution. It was in Pugad

---

[5] U.P., 1956, p. 147 ff.

> Lawin, where they proceeded upon leaving Samson's place in the afternoon of the 22nd, that the more than 1000 members of the Katipunan met in the yard of Juan A. Ramos, son of Melchora Aquino, the famed "mother" of the Katipuneros, in the morning of August 23rd. Considerable discussion arose whether the revolt against the Spanish government should be started on the 29th. Only one man protested against the plan of revolt at such an early date, and it was Bonifacio's own brother-in-law, Teodoro Plata. But he was overruled in his stand that the time was not yet propitious for such desperate action, that there was a dearth of arms and ammunitions, and that the rebels would then announced the decision and, standing on an improvised platform, shouted: "Brothers, it was agreed to continue the plan of revolt. My brothers, do you swear to repudiate the government that oppresses us?" And the rebels, shouting as one man replied: "Yes, sir." "That being the case," Bonifacio added, "bring out your cedulas and tear them to pieces to symbolize our determination to take up arms." There was a rustle of papers and in a minute the yard was littered with torn *cedulas*. Amidst this ceremony, the rebels, with tear-stained eyes, shouted: "Long live the Philippines! Long live the Katipunan!"

Apart from the accounts just presented, we have the testimonies of persons who were contemporaneous with the events of 1896 and who had first hand knowledge of those events. Of these, the following are particularly noteworthy as sources of information:

1. Guillermo Masangkay's "A Katipunero Speaks," **Sunday Tribune Magazine**, August 21, 1932.

According to the author, who was present on the historic occasion, the "Cry of Balintawak" took place on August 26, 1896, near the spot where the monument now stands. He thus confirmed in its essential details the version as given in the inscription on the monument.

2. Dr. Pio Valenzuela's "Memoirs of the KKK" and his statement published in the **Sunday Times**, Manila, August 29, 1948.

In these accounts, Dr. Valenzuela gave his readers to understand that certain points in the officially accepted version of the so-called "Cry of Balintawak" were not in accord with the historical reality. In the first place, Dr. Valenzuela pointed out, it was at Pugad Lawin not in Balintawak, in the yard of Juan Ramos, son of Melchora Aquino, where the decision was made to take up arms. Dr. Valenzuela further stated that the event took place on August 23rd, not August 26th, 1896. According to him, at the close of the meeting at Pugad Lawin, which was tumultuous, the Katipuneros tore their cedula certificates and shouted, "Long live the Philippines! Long live the Katipunan!"

3. Santiago Alvarez' "Ang Katipunan at Paghimagsik."[6] Alvarez, like Guillermo Masangkay and Dr. Pio Valenzuela, was a prominent member of the Katipunan. His account was, according to his own testimony, prepared from notes which he wrote down contemporaneously with the events about which he wrote.

The portions of Alvarez' account referring to the events of August, 1896, are the following:

> Sunday, August 23, 1896.
>
> As early as 10 o'clock in the morning, at the house and barn of Kabesang Melchora [Melchora Aquino, popularly known as "Tandang Sora"], barrio of Bahay Toro, Katipuneros arrived ready and eager to join the "Supremo," Andres Bonifacio and his men.
>
> Monday, August 24, 1896.
>
> There were about 1,000 Katipuneros... The "Supremo" decided to hold a meeting inside the big barn. Under his presidency, the meeting began at 10 o'clock in the morning...
>
> It was 12 o'clock noon when the meeting was adjourned amidst loud cries of "Long live the Sons of the Country" (Mabuhay ang mga Anak ng Bayan).
>
> Tuesday, August 25, 1896.
>
> At two o'clock in the afternoon, a Katipunero lookout, watching from a sampalok tree, reported that enemy troops

---

[6] Sampagulta, 1927, 1928.

> were approaching. The Katipuneros immediately made ready to meet the enemy. At a point between Kankong, Balintawak and Bahay Toro, a brief encounter took place.

4. Oligario Diaz, "Report," dated October 28, 1896.[7]

Diaz was an officer of the Guardia Civil Veterana. His account was prepared on the basis of official reports of the doings of the Guardia Civil and on information given by persons who either were seized or captured by the Spaniards, following the discovery of the Katipunan, or voluntarily surrendered, taking advantage of the offer of amnesty extended to Filipino rebels by Governor Ramon Blanco in his proclamation of August 30, 1896.

The passages in the "Report" relating to the events of August, 1896, are the following:

> The conspiracy having been discovered, Bonifacio and his followers fled to the nearby town of Caloocan. . . For a time he stayed in the house of the capitan municipal of Caloocan; at another time in that of his father-in-law, Adriano de Jesus. . . On the 23rd Bonifacio moved to the barrio of Balintauac (*sic*) followed by 200 men from Caloocan; on the 24th they were attacked by the Guardia Civil in the outskirts of the said town and they retreated to their hiding places.
>
> The Supreme Council called for a big meeting to be held the following day in the above-mentioned barrio. More than 500 members attended. The meeting began with a discussion of what course should be taken in the face of the new situation and in view some who were disposed to go back and surrender to the Spanish government. Bonifacio was strongly opposed to such a course. He was for taking up arms at once. Put to a vote, Bonifacio's proposal was approved by an overwhelming majority. . .
>
> Orders were immediately sent out to Manila, Cavite, Nueva Ecija, and other provinces for the Katipuneros to strike at dawn on Sunday, August 30th.

---

[7] Retana, W. Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino, Vol. 3.

Ambeth Ocampo

From the statements above presented, it will be readily seen how numerous and varied are the points of disagreement, both among primary and secondary authorities, on the so-called "Cry of Balintawak." No less than four different places have been pointed out as the scene of that memorable event — Balintawak, Kankong, Pugad Lawin, and Bahay Toro. Besides, five different dates are mentioned for the event — August 20th, August 23rd, August 24th, August 25th, and August 26th.

As regards the "Cry" itself, the discrepancies are likewise quite marked. The versions differ as to the exact words the Katipuneros uttered in the "Cry". In two of the accounts (Fernandez and Benitez), we are told that the Katipuneros shouted in their historic meeting: "Long live the Philippine Republic!" Another version (that by Zaide) says that it was Bonifacio who gave the "Cry", and that his words were: "Long live Philippine Independence!" Agoncillo claims that the words spoken were: "Long live the Philippines!" Alvarez' version was that the Katipuneros uttered the words: "Long live the Sons of the Country!" ("Mabuhay ang mga Anak ng Bayan.")

It goes without saying that, with all their disagreements and contradictions, the statements just quoted can not all be true and faithful representations of the historical reality. For a historical fact, understanding that term to mean what actually took place in the past, is unique, absolute, unchanging. It is circumscribed by definite boundaries in space and in time. It happened only once. It will never happen again in its original form and substance.

It is our knowledge or understanding of a historical fact that is relative, constantly subject to revision, adjustment or modification. It is because a historical fact has characteristics of its own which render it unique and and distinctive. Foremost among these is that it can be perceived or understood only through its traces, through what has been said or written about it. Now the records of an event are usually in the nature of recollections of what a person believes to have happened at a given spot in space and in time. Such recollections are subject to numerous conditioning factors and influences. Faults of memory, errors of perception, bias, prejudice, the presence of some ulterior motive which induces a person to falsify or distort a fact of history—all operate singly or collectively to obscure or vitiate our knowledge or understanding of the past.

Of the studies so far made on the **Katipunan** revolt, that by Prof. Teodoro A. Agoncillo entitled, **The Revolt of the Masses,** is by far the most detailed and exhaustive.(8) It was adjudged the best entry in a contest conducted in 1947-1948 for a biography on Andres Bonifacio.

Close students of Philippine history naturally expected that the author would take up the problem of the "Cry of Balintawak" and endeavor to clear up the points in controversy with regard to that event. The author, however, did not come up to the expectations of his readers. At least not to the author of this article and those colleagues of his in the Department of History, University of the Philippines, who, in a seminar held in the Department shortly after the publication of the book, reviewed the book as a work of historical scholarship. Their review appeared, in abbreviated form, in a series of articles published in **The Manila Times** during the month of October, 1956.(9)

Commenting on Agoncillos account of the "Cry of Balintawak," the authors of the review, after citing relevant and pertinent sources of information (T. M. Kalaw, Guillermo Masangkay, Pio Valenzuela, Santiago Alvarez, and Olegario Diaz),(10) said:

> It is regrettable that Agoncillo has not seen fit to clear up the confusion that still prevails on this point in the history of the Revolution. All that he has done is to accept the version of Valenzuela without question. He has not told his readers why he considered the testimony of Valenzuela more reliable and more authoritative than that of any of the other contemporary witnesses. Considering the character and standing of the persons whose testimony has been cited and the excellent opportunities for accurate observa-

---

(8) Previous studies on the **Katipunan** by Filipino Scholars are: Manuel Artigas, **Andres Bonifacio y el Katipunan**, Manila, 1911; and Epifanio de los Santos, "Andres Bonifacio " **The Philippine Review**, January-February, 1918.

(9) The full text of the review was printed in **Philippine Studies**, No. 4. Vol. 4, under the title, "The Revolt of the Masses": **Critique of a Book.** The review was prepared in collaboration with Professors Guadalupe Fores-Ganzon and Josefa M. Saniel and Misses Donata V. Taylo and Justina A. Saltiva.

(10) **See supra.**

tion of the events about which they wrote, what they had to say regarding those events is deserving of the utmost consideration and respect.

Replying to our criticism, Prof. Agoncillo wrote as follows:(11)

> It is inaccurate of my critics to have said that I had not "seen fit to clear up the confusion" regarding the date of the so-called "Cry of Balintawak." I did not, as stated in my "Foreword," include discussion of doubtful points in the main body of the book in order not to distract my readers' attention. Why did I dismiss some of the authorities cited by my critics and rely mostly on Dr. Valenzuela's testimony? The reason is simple: Dr. Valenzuela was close to Bonifacio, he was with the *Supremo* during those tumultuous days after the discovery of the *Katipunan,* and he wrote his memoirs in the 1920's. On the other hand, Santiago Alvarez, cited by my critics, was not with the rebels during those critical hours of the *Katipunan*, but in Cavite. How, then, could he have known from first hand knowledge when the "Cry" took place? Then, again, General Aguinaldo did not believe that the traditional "Cry" ever took place on August 26, 1896 . . . Why did I give weight to the testimony of General Aguinaldo when the fact is he was not with the rebels at the time? Because his own man and representative to the *Katipunan* assembly called by Bonifacio after the discovery of the *Katipunan,* Domingo Orcullo, was with the rebels and reported back to General Aguinaldo what actually transpired. As to Masangkay's testimony, I did not give much weight to his early testimony because while in 1932 he said that the "Cry" took place on August 26, 1896. he nullified this in 1947, in the course of an interview with him, that the "Cry" took place on August 24, 1896. There are, therefore, two reliable testimonies in favor of August 23, 1896, as the date of the "Cry." I accepted August 23, 1896, as the correct date of the "Cry" and implied in my book that the "Cry" meant the moment the rebels tore up their *cedulas* to pieces.

---

(11) **The Manila Times**, November, 1956. The article, entitled "Four Girls and a Man: A study in Confusion," took up in detail all the points brought up in the **Critique.**

Professor Agoncillo's explanation was not deemed sound and convincing. At least that is how the author of this article felt at the time and does feel still.(12)

In the above-quoted passage of his article, Professor Agoncillo cited two testimonies which he considered "reliable" in support of his claim, namely, (1) that of Valenzuela, and (2) that of General Aguinaldo.

In connection with the first, attention was called to the fact that Professor Agoncillo was not quite consistent in his appraisal of the reliability of Valenzuela's testimony. In one part of his book he gave his readers to understand that Valenzuela "lied" with respect to many things concerning the doings of the Katipunan. And yet, on the question of the "Cry," he gave utmost confidence to Valenzuela's testimony. If Valenzuela "lied" with respect to certain matters dealt with in his testimony, what assurance do we have that with respect to the "Cry" his testimony is worthy of credence?

With regard to General Aguinaldo's testimony, supposed to have been made on the basis of information furnished him by his representative, Domingo Orcullo, it was pointed out that no evidence was adduced by Professor Agoncillo to substantiate his assumption that Orcullo was present at Pugad Lawin on August 23, 1896. Moreover, even assuming that Orcullo did attend the Katipunan meeting, his report to Gen. Aguinaldo as to the place and date of the "Cry" could not have been a confirmation of the testimony of Valenzuela, for Gen. Aguinaldo's own version is that the "Cry" did not take place at the date and place mentioned by Valenzuela but at San Juan del Monte. Gen. Aguinaldo's version was by the way, corroborated by Gen. Pio del Pilar and Colonel Sinforoso San Pedro.(13)

Although, as Prof. Agoncillo stated, Santiago Alvarez was in Cavite at the outbreak of the Katipunan uprising, there is one thing about his account that entitles it to utmost consideration and respect. In the first place, it was prepared, as Alvarez himself stated, from notes which he kept of events of the Katipunan of which he had personal knowledge and experience. What he knew of men and events of his time was derived, not from memory, but from notes written contemporaneously with the events. As between Valenzuela's facts, recorded from memory years later, and those of Alvarez derived from contemporary notes, it is unwise, to say the least, to accept the first without question and simply dismiss the others without much ado. Man is by nature, subject to "vagaries of memory." It is well to bear in mind that "the strongest memory is weaker than the palest ink."(14)

---

(12) My views on this and on the other points dealt with by Prof. Agoncillo in his "Four Girls and a Man . . ." article were presented in a rebuttal article published in **The Cross**, February, 1957, under the title, "Mr. Agoncillo's 'Four Girls and a Man.' "

(13) G. F. Zaide, op. cit., p. 111 (footnote).

Moreover it should be noted that while Santiago Alvarez was not present at the scene of the "Cry," he could have had good opportunities for securing information about that event from reliable sources. It can well be presumed that he had among his sources one of unquestioned reliability, namely Andres Bonifacio himself. For, as is well known, Bonifacio went to Cavite and, while there, he was in close contact with Mariano and Santiago Alvarez, prominent members of the Magdiwang Council of the Katipunan and closely related by blood to his wife. It is reasonable to presume, therefore, that Santiago Alvarez obtained from Bonifacio himself much of the information about the "Cry" which he wrote down in his notes If such an assumption is correct, his version is of utmost importance as a source of information and, therefore, can not very well be ignored.

It would seem, therefore, that Professor Agoncillo's claim regarding the place and date of the "Cry" does not rest on solid and stable foundation. As a close student of the Revolution, his is the opportunity to clear up the uncertainty and confusion that still prevails with respect to this memorable event in our history. He should deal with the problem in thorough fashion bringing to bear upon it historical evidence of unquestioned worth and back up his findings and conclusions with sound, convincing and irresisitble logic.

To those outside the circle of devoted and loyal followers of the Muse of History, it may appear pointless and unprofitable for us to concern ourselves with such insignificant and unim-

---

(14) Quoted by Samuel E. Morison, "Fact of a Historian." American Historical Review, January, 1917.

Ambeth Ocampo

portant matters as the date or the scene of an event of history. It should, however, be borne in mind that to seek the truth as regards men and events of the past is the supreme ideal, the overriding purpose of historical scholarship. Historians inspired by that ideal, feel it their duty and responsibility to seek the solution of a historical problem no matter how insignificant or unimportant may be the objective of the undertaking.

In the case of the so-called "Cry of Balintawak," it is to be hoped that, through further study and research on the part of our qualified scholars, the problem will be definitely settled so that our knowledge of this point of our history may be placed on a thoroughly sound and satisfactory basis, all to the credit, honor, and glory of historical scholarship in our country.

# # #

The educators, for their part, have assumed the tremendous responsibility of weaving into the very fabric of the lives of their students the first and basic principles of the primacy of the spirit —that the end does not justify the means; that morals must not be subordinated to economics; that man's physical comfort, convenience and worldly advantage must not be achieved at the expense of his spiritual ideals and aspirations and of the eternal and unchanging verities.

President Teodoro Evangelista
Far Eastern University

Don't you know that a life is useless unless dedicated to a great idea? It is a pebble lost in the field and does not form part of an edifice.

Dr. Jose Rizal

THREE LECTURES ON HISTORY*

by H. de la Costa, S.J.

I. WHO IS CLIO? WHAT IS SHE?

The first of the two questions which make up the title of this talk is an easy one.

As everybody knows, Clio is the Muse of History. She is Greek by birth, but she has taken out naturalization papers in practically every country of the globe. Everybody now has a history; and almost everything else. Someone, I forget who, trying very hard to be clever, once exclaimed: "Happy the nation that has no history!" Very few today will agree with this. Most people today think the more history you have, the better. This is a good thing — especially for historians.

The second question of our title must claim a little more attention. What is Clio? **What** is history?

History deals with FACTS — HAPPENINGS — EVENTS.

With CURRENT events? No — this is the concern of the newspaper, the news commentary, the newsmagazine.

History is concerned with PAST events.

All kinds? No — only those in which MEN — human beings — are somehow involved. Those things which men cause to happen, or which happen to them — these form the subject matter of history.

Thus, the "history" of the universe and of this planet before the coming of man — the millions upon millions of years which it took to make this world ready for our habitation — this is not history properly so called, but NATURAL history — the domain of the geologist and the paleontologist.

---

* Given on 1, 3 and 5 August 1960 over Channel 9, CBN, as part of the series, "Education on TV".

But even when man does appear, we do not at once have history. For history bases its account of what man has done on WRITTEN records — and man does not discover writing until he has been around for quite some time.

That period of time which elapsed between the appearance of man and the appearance of written records is called PREHISTORY. It is the particular domain of the archaeologist, aided and abetted by the anthropologist. They try to find out what happened to man, and what he caused to happen, from the debris that he has left behind — broken pots, bones, arrowheads, drawings and doodlings in caves. It is a very tricky piece of detective work, and prehistorians deserve a lot of credit for what they have managed to find out. It must also be admitted that they do a lot of guessing.

History then — HISTORY PROPER — is man's past reconstructed from written records. Even this can be qualified a little more. For the historian is not so much interested in individual men as individuals; he is interested chiefly in the doings of communities, of societies of men, and in individuals insofar as they affect the lives of their communities. For this reason history is often classed among the social sciences.

Here, then, we have a working definition of history: HISTORY IS THE SOCIAL SCIENCE WHICH RECONSTRUCTS MAN'S PAST FROM WRITTEN RECORDS.

How does the historian go about his business? First, let us take a look at the materials with which he works: written records or documents. He naturally looks for those documents which are closest to the event he wishes to reconstruct. He has a special name for such documents; they are his **sources.**

Source material can be almost anything. The most obvious type is of course the narrative account; the document which says "This is what happened; this is how it began, and this is what followed from that beginning." Thus, for the history of that great civil war between Athens and Sparta which tore the ancient Greek world asunder, we are fortunate in possessing an account by a man who was not only an eyewitness, but a very great historian, possibly the greatest that ever lived. This is how the account begins:

> Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote the history of the war waged by the Peloponnesians and the Athenians against one another. He began the task at the very outset of the war, in the belief that it would be great and noteworthy above all the wars that had gone before, inferring this from the fact that both powers were then at their best in preparedness for war in every way, and seeing the rest of the Hellenic race taking sides with one state or the other, some at once, others planning to do so. For this was the greatest movement that had ever stirred the Hellenes, extending to some of the Barbarians, one might even say to a very large part of mankind.

The narrative of Thucydides is what you might call the formal or full-dress account; there are other types in varying degrees of informal dress.

Here, for instance, are the dispatches which Caesar, his own best war correspondent, sent back to Rome from his ever moving command post in France, Germany and Britain.

Here is the amazing narrative of a journey across the limitless expanse of Central Asia into the half-legendary world of China under the Mongol emperors, written in prison by a Venetian merchant named Marco Polo.

Here is the plain unvarnished tale of a certain Bernal Diaz del Castillo, who in the evening of his life recalled, without concealment or exaggeration, how a handful of conquistadors, himself among them, followed an adventurer named Cortés to the very pinnacle of the ancient empire of the Aztecs.

But narratives such as these are not the only sources of information for the historian. Even more informative sometimes are those documents which people write with no particular intention of being informative, at least not to future historians. For example, CONTRACTS. Here is a contract drawn up by Governor Francisco Tello de Guzmán of the Philippines in 1598, granting an encomienda on the islands of Samar and Leyte to two officers of the Spanish army. It is preserved in our own National Archives. It says:

> By these presents, in the name of His Majesty, I grant in encomienda to you . . . Captain Toribio de Miranda and

> Captain Antonio Freyle, the natives of the towns and encomiendas which were held by Juan Gutierrez del Real, deceased . . . for you to hold jointly and equally . . . in accordance with the law of succession regarding Indians ordained by His Majesty, with the obligation of instructing them in our holy Catholic faith to the end that they might attain to a true knowledge of it; and in this matter I charge your conscience and discharge that of His Majesty in his royal name. . . And most of all I enjoin you to treat the natives well, preserving them from all vexation and trouble . . .

This contract tells us much. It tells us what an encomienda was. It was not, as has so often been asserted, a grant of land; it was a grant of jurisdiction. It was not the territory but the **natives** of these towns who were given **"in encomienda", commended or entrusted to Captains Miranda and Freyle.** Secondly, it tells us what obligations the Spanish government attached to the office of the encomendero. The encomendero was charged in conscience to teach or cause to be taught Christian doctrine to the natives, and to maintain peace and order among them, "preserving them from all vexation and trouble." It was on this understanding that they were permitted to collect tribute from the people.

A Philippine document of a different kind and later date is the instructions issued from time to time by the rectors of the Jesuit College of San Jose to the lay-brother administrators of the estates which constituted the College's endowment. Thus, on 20 January 1740, Father Francisco Mendez told Brother Thomas Gironiere, administrator of San Pedro Tunasan, to stop operations at the estate sugar mill, because of "la abundancia de azúcar en Manila cada día mayor y más barata, que viene de varias partes . . ." This remark is highly significant. It suggests that the manufacture of sugar for the market in the Philippines began much earlier than is generally supposed; by **1740,** it was actually cheaper to buy sugar in Manila than make it yourself on your own estate.

Six years later another rector, Father Jose Samaniego, was commending Brother Juan Garcia, administrator of the Lian Estate, for successfully raising wheat: "No es menos útil al Colegio el sembrar trigo, como mi Hermano lo ha hecho, de que le doy las gracias y mis sucesores se lo darán . . . " Wheat, then, was being grown in Batangas before the middle of the eighteenth century. However, Father Samaniego urged the Brother not to put his trust in wheat alone, but to diversify his production.

> It is likewise important for my brother and everyone else to bear in mind what Christ Our Lord said, namely, *non in solo pane vivit homo,* that is, that not by bread alone doth man live. And since, as my Brother has assured me, that land is poor soil on which to raise garlic, onions, mongos, beans and patani, on which the College spends a considerable sum every year, I earnestly direct my Brother to plant ten thousand coconut trees, for great benefit will result from them once they start bearing fruit . . .

Just as a swallow does not make a summer, so one field of wheat, one stand of coconut in one hacienda does not make an economic pattern. But the point is that an economic historian, patiently collecting such reports from the dusty shelves of archives, putting such bits and pieces together, will eventually arrive at the point where a pattern does emerge, and thus illuminate one more obscure corner of our national past.

Familiar to almost everyone is what may be called the epoch-making document; the charter, declaration or proclamation which not only records history but makes it.

MAGNA CARTA: "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed or exiled, nor will we go upon him or send upon him, except by lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land . . . To none will we sell, to no one will we refuse or delay, right or justice . . . "

THE AMERICAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness . . . "

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO: "A spectre is hauntting Europe — the spectre of Communism . . . " And again: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workingmen of all countries, unite!"

There is magic in these familiar phrases; yet if we look at them more closely we shall perceive that these documents are of little value in themselves, in isolation. It is only after the historian, or more precisely a whole generation, perhaps several generations of historians have reconstructed from a mass of other contemporary documents of every sort the drives, tensions, fears, ambitions, ideas, institutions, personalities involved, the very color, swing and climate of that age, that their full meaning and import becomes clear.

Documents by themselves are not history. They are the raw material of history. They are the tracks, traces, clues, which a past event, vanished beyond recall, has left behind it. From these fugitive indications, from these bits and pieces, from this disorderly and dead debris, the historian must reconstruct the past, exactly as the detective reconstructs a crime from the smudges which the criminal left behind him.

What tools, what equipment must the historian bring to his task?

The first that comes to mind as being most useful and even necessary is a knowledge of languages. Anyone who wishes to study Philippine history, for instance, and who wishes to do this not from secondary works but from the sources themselves, cannot dispense with a knowledge of Spanish. We must not forget that Rizal wrote almost exclusively in Spanish; that many of the speeches, and a considerable portion of the debates at the Constitutional Convention of 1934, were in Spanish; that the correspondence of so important and so recent a statesman as President Quezon was carried on to a very large extent in this language.

As for the period before 1900, the historian will be simply lost without at least a reading knowledge of Spanish. There are of course translations into English of a small fistful of source material, a very small fistful compared with the mountains, the veritable mountain ranges of documents that remain in their original form. And the need for linguistic ability increases as we go further back in time, for there are considerable differences between the way Spanish is written and spoken in the twentieth century and the way it was written and spoken in the sixteenth.

Spanish of course is a modern language, relatively easy to learn. Consider the predicament of the historian of the civization of ancient Crete and Mycenae — the so-called Minoan civilization — confronted with the script of a totally unknown language!

And I mean **totally** unknown. Those who set themselves to decipher Egyptian hieroglyphic were lucky. They found the Rosetta Stone, in which a hieroglyphic inscription was accompanied by a Greek translation. Those who later wrestled with Hittite were also lucky. They dug up at Tell-el-Amarna the diplomatic archives of the Egyptian government, in which treaties between the two empires were recorded in both Egyptian and Hittite.

But the Minoan boys had no such luck. Nobody thought of translating Minoan into some other language known to us — or if they did, their efforts have not survived.

Here is where the historian has to turn cryptographer and break his texts exactly as a secret service agent breaks an enemy code. You may have read how some years ago a brilliant architect, Michael Ventris, "broke" the Minoan code, or what is blithely referred to as Linear B. The story of how he did it gives us some of the most exciting pages in the annals of modern scholarship.

Part of the historian's equipment too must be the ability to sift evidence. He must have the trial lawyer's flair for detecting bias, for unmasking the elaborate fabrication or the simple lie. But there is one very important difference between the lawyer and the historian. The historian's witnesses are all dead. They cannot be recalled to the stand; they are proof against cross-examination. They have spoken once; they will not speak again. The historian must do his best with his recorded testimony.

On the basis of that testimony, often, alas, woefully inadequate and fragmentary, he must decide who was right, Socrates or his accusers; who fought for the liberties and laws of Rome, Brutus or Antony; who stood for the common weal of the English realm, Charles the King or Cromwell who killed him.

There is no need to elaborate on those other qualities which the historian must have in common with other scholars and men of science, such as, for example, passion for accuracy; complete integrity; breadth of vision: "To see life steadily and to see it whole . . ."

These he must have. And something else as well, something which is properly a quality of the artist — the ability to bring to life — to create, or at least to re-create, some past action — a battle, a plague, an assembly, a crisis in the life of a city, a change in the ideas of a culture — not as these things lie pressed and dried between the pages of a dossier, but as they were in life.

For this is what history must be, at its highest: it must be, in the words of Michelet, a "resurrection of the flesh."

Only a very few historians have been able to do this; have been able to bring to bear on their work both the exactitude of science and the vitality of art. Thucydides' harrowing description — all the more harrowing because it was so clinical — of the plague that struck Athens in the first year of the Peloponnesian War; the insight with which the Belgian medievalist Pirenne perceived the effect upon Western Europe of the Muslim conquest of the Mediterranan, and the skill with which he spelled out the details of that initial intuition; it is difficult by means of a brief quotation to give any adequate idea of the temper of such writing.

But perhaps one quotation may serve to give a fleeting suggestion of what we mean when we say that the historian must be, at his highest and best, a creative artist.

It is from Hilaire Belloc's **Marie Antoinette**, the passage towards the end where he described her execution:

> The cart went lumbering on, past the quay, over the bridge under the murky drizzle. The windows beyond the river were full of heads and faces; the edges of the quays were black with the crowd. The river Seine ran swollen

with the rains; its tide and rolling made no mark upon the drenched water-walls of stone. The cart went lumbering on over the rough wet paving of the northern bank. It turned into the Rue St. Honore, where the narrow depth was full of noise. The long line of troops stood erect and and close upon either side. The dense crowd still roared behind them; their prey sat upon the plank, diminished, as erect as the constraint of her bonds and her failing strength would allow. Her lips, for all their bent of agony, were still proud; her vesture was new; her delicate high shoes had been chosen with care for that journey — but her face might have satisfied them all. The painted red upon her cheeks was dreadful against her utter paleness: from beneath the linen of her cap a few whitened wisps of hair hung dank upon her hollowed temples: a Victim. Her eyes were sunken, and of these one dully watched her foes, one had lost its function in the damp half-darkness of the cells: it turned blank and blind upon the rabble that still followed the walking jolt of the two cart-horses and the broad wheels. At the head of those so following, an actor-fellow pranced upon a horse, thrusting at her by way of index a sword, and shouting to the people that they held the tigress here, the Austrian. In the midst of those so following, an American, eager to see, elbowed his way and would not lose his vantage. From the windows of the narrow gulf the continued noise of wonder, of jeers, and of imprecations reached her. She still sat motionless and without speech; the executioner standing behind her holding the loose end of the cord, the forsworn priest sitting on the plank beside her but hearing no words of hers.

It is said that as the tumbril passed certain masts whence limp tricoloured pennants hung she glanced at them and murmured a word; it is to be believed that, a few yards further, at the turn into the Rue Royale, she gave way at the new sight of the Machine set up for her before the palace gardens.

This is known, that she went up the steps of the scaffold at liberty and stood for a bare moment seen by the great gathering in the square, a figure against the trees of what had been her gardens and the place where her

child had played. It was but a moment; she was bound and thrown and the steel fell.

II. DOES HISTORY TEACH ANYTHING?

Last Monday we asked ourselves what history is. Now we must ask ourselves what it is for. What good is it? Why should we learn it?

Those of you out there who are in my Freshman History class at the Ateneo — don't all answer at once. Certainly you come to history class because you have to — and possibly this is the only reason why you come. But let us now consider this question objectively, as reasonable men should, leaving out of account as much as possible our own personal feelings on the matter.

What is history for? One answer is, that history teaches certain lessons, certain valuable lessons which will help us in the conduct of our present life. Both as individuals and as communities we are today confronted with certain problems. These problems are not new. They confronted men in the past. And the men of the past came up with certain answers. Some of these answers turned out to be fairly successful. Others turned out to be simply wrong. In either case, we learn something of great value. We learn how to deal with our present similar problems, or at least we learn how **not** to deal with them.

Take a fairly simple case. After Rome had made herself mistress of the Mediterranean world, the Roman Republic went through a series of internal crises. The problems of governing so large an empire caused a division between the generality of the citizens, the **populares**, and the aristocrats, who controlled the senate. In the power struggle that ensued, each of these parties committed its cause to army generals, giving them unprecedented emergency powers. What was the result? The result was civil war, in the course of which one military dictator after another took over the government. Finally, what began as a temporary expedient to meet a crisis became a permanent arrangement. Augustus, having defeated all his rivals in the field and won the support of the army, took away all effective power from both the people and the senate and established a thinly disguised monarchy. He and his successors gave several generations of peace to the Empire. But this peace did not last. It did not last, because the legions began increasingly to realize that it was they, not the senate and people of Rome, who really made and unmade emperors. They proceeded to do so. All Europe became one bloody battleground in which the personal armies of ambitious generals fell with cold ferocity upon one another. Barrack emperor succeeded barrack emperor with ever increasing rapidity, and even before Alaric the Goth and Attila the Hun appeared on the horizon, the great Empire of Rome had collapsed.

The lesson seems clear, and later governments have in fact profited from it. No matter how grave the emergency, it does not pay for a government to surrender control of the army. Armies are good servants but bad masters. Yield control of the army and you breed tyrants; breed tyrants and you breed anarchy. That is why today, at least in democracies, a cardinal principle of government is civilian control of the military.

Here then is one answer to our question. History is hindsight, and hindsight is always a useful thing.

But there are those who would go further. History, they say, is not only hindsight. It is also foresight. It does not merely teach us how to deal with the present. It enables us also, to some extent, to foretell the future.

Those who claim this tell us that if we read history aright, we shall perceive that it is governed by laws. These laws impose a pattern or rhythm on the birth, growth, decline and fall of nations, of civilizations, and even of mankind itself. Discover this pattern, formulate this rhythm, and you can foretell with a fair amount of accuracy where the present will lead; you can extend the past into the future as you project a curve upon a graph.

What are these laws of history? According to the French sociologist Auguste Comte, one of them is certainly the Law of Indefinite Progress. Mankind, or Man in capital letters, is slowly but surely getting better and better. Better and better every day and every way. Forth from our remote beginnings in some prehistoric cave we march, irresistibly, through all the successive stages of cultural development — the clan, the village, the city, the empire, the nation state — ever forward, higher and higher, towards what Hilaire Belloc used to call with tongue in cheek the Great Rosy Dawn, when men, having established complete control over the forces of nature, will work little, sleep much, and rise only to enjoy themselves.

This sounds very good indeed; except that, from where we stand today, that Great Rosy Dawn is beginning to look more and more like the red mushroom of a nuclear explosion.

Comte belonged to the eighteenth century, the Age of Reason, the age of clear straight lines. That age gave way to the Era of Romanticism; the era of feeling, of complexity; the era that produced the German philosopher Hegel. Hegel saw at once what was wrong with Comte's law; it was too simple. But human history is not simple; it is unutterably complicated. Yet even so, Hegel perceived a pattern; not a rectilinear advance, but more of a spiral; a process of expansion and contraction, of projection and return, of tension and resolution of tension: thesis — antithesis — synthesis.

How does this work? One wonders whether Hegel himself knew; but probably some thing like this. Man finds out very early in his career that he cannot survive alone. He must form part of a community. In a community, under centralized direction, not only can he successfully defend himself from his enemies but he can grow more food, build better houses, get more out of life. The Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Assyrians discovered this and built up empires. This is thesis. Then the Greeks came along and found that there is a lot more to be got out of life besides order. There is freedom. Freedom to do what one likes, to be what one can, to be the master of one's destiny — is this not an infinitely more precious thing than order? But if we choose freedom, must we not give up order? Here is antithesis. How are these two forces, these two ideas — freedom and order — to be reconciled? They are reconciled in Rome; the Roman idea of law; the Roman idea of ordered freedom, of right under law. Here is synthesis. But this is not the end of the process. A synthesis arrived at merely begins a new cycle; becomes, in its turn, thesis. The Roman thesis develops an antithesis in the barbarians of Western Europe, and the tension between them produces in time the synthesis of the medieval world. And so on, ad infinitum.

I must confess that all this is a little too abstract for me. Perhaps for you too. Certainly it was much too abstract for another German who was of Jewish extraction: Karl Marx. Marx believed Hegel had something there, but it had to be brought down to earth. He brought it down to earth with a vengeance. He started with the assumption that all of man's activities, and all of his ideas, are governed and controlled by the way he made his living — by the way he feeds and clothes himself. This makes everything very simple and very down-to-earth. History is determined by economics. Change the economy and you change everything else, from the kind of dress that people wear to the kind of songs they sing and the kind of thoughts they think.

And where does Hegelian dialectic come in? Marx uses it to explain how the economy changes. The economy changes because men are by nature greedy and there is no limit to their greed. Every economy generates an exploiting class: thesis. An exploiting class implies an exploited class: antithesis. The exploitation of the exploited by the exploiters goes on and on until it becomes intolerable: increasing tension between thesis and antithesis. The tension is resolved by the exploited class expropriating the exploiters, for example by the bourgeoisie of the Middle Ages liquidating the feudal nobility. Synthesis. But the synthesis immediately becomes thesis: the bourgeois, formerly exploited, now become the exploiters. Capitalism rears its ugly head, but also nurses in its bosom the antithesis that will destroy it; the proletariat. The exploitation of the proletariat by the capitalist class becomes more and more thorough, more and more unbearable; the tension becomes increasingly severe. Finally, something snaps. The proletariat rise against their masters; the expropriators are expropriated.

And here Marx stops. Here too, the Communists who have Marx for their master stop. But the question may well be asked: why stop there? Why should the triumph of the proletariat so unaccountably result in a cessation of the class struggle, in a so-called "classless society"? If Marx's law of the class struggle were a real law, should it not continue to operate? Should not the dictatorship of the proletariat then produce a new class of exploiters? That it does, in fact, produce such a class, a party and bureaucracy more ruthless than any feudal or capitalist class, is the embarrassing conclusion to which highly orthodox Marxists are being led today. They have put together an iron law, only to find themselves entangled in its machinery.

Does not the history of these efforts to find iron laws of history suggest that such a search is vain? One significant fact that emerges is that those who claim to have discovered iron laws of history, that is, universal and necessary laws, are almost always **not** historians. Comte was a sociologist; Hegel was a philosopher; Marx if he was anything, was an economist.

Historians themselves are more cautious; perhaps extremely so. I remember the remark of a teacher of mine apropos of Prof. Toynbee's **Study of History**, that every historian is full of admiration for Mr. Toynbee's laws, until they are applied to his particular area of specialization. Thus, the historian of China will readily agree that the law of challenge and response is valid everywhere — except of course China. And the historian of Spanish America will quickly endorse the exception — for Spanish America.

I suppose this is because the historian must stick to the facts; his whole endeavor is to find out what really happened; to reconstruct a concrete event. And the more he gets into his subject, the more it becomes apparent how **unique** that event was, how different from other events which seemed at first glance to be so similar. Such and such a development occurred at this particular time and place — this is the fact. It occurred because such and such factors were present and operating — these are the causes of the fact. Now, then, can we say that in a different time and place, given the same or similar causes, the same or a similar development will take place?

I think that the more the historian knows about it, the less willing he will be to go out on such a limb. In the first place, because he will realize more and more clearly how little we really know about the past; how few and fragmentary are our clues, and how tentative and insecure the reconstruction that we base upon them. Was it Menendez y Pelayo who said that of all the kinds of the books that are written, the most ephemeral, the quickest to go out of date, is the history book? For the very week in which it is published some new document, some hitherto undiscovered or neglected detail, may change the whole picture and render its interpretation valueless.

Secondly, how can we ever be sure that we are dealing with the same or similar causes? We classify historical causes and paste abstract labels on them; we talk of primitive peoples becoming civilized, civilizations declining, democracies turning into dictatorships, economies changing, ideas having an impact; we must talk this way about them if we are to talk about them at all. But we cannot afford to forget that these **are** abstractions; they are constructs of the mind. In the real, extramental order human history is caused by men. Now man is a peculiar species of animal. If we were dealing with the affairs of ants or bees, we night more readily perceive a necessary pattern of recurrence. But men are not as the ants and bees. Men are free; and therefore, men are unpredictable.

History, then, cannot give foresight; we cannot use it like the fortune-teller's crystal ball, a glass in which to see the future. Can it even give us hindsight? Can we extract from it lessons applicable to the present? There are those who say that we cannot; theirs is the cynical principle that all we can ever learn from history is that we never learn from history. Perhaps this is an extreme position. But certainly, if history does teach lessons, we cannot apply them in any mechanical or automatic sense. We have been told, often enough, to pattern our democracy on that of Athens. Ever since the Renaissance men have been repeating Pericles' ringing phrase that "Athens is the school of Hellas," and extending it to mean that Athenian democracy must be the model for democracies everywhere. The fact is that Athens was a very small state, with a total population of not more than 70,000 at the outside. Of these perhaps 30,000 were citizens; the rest were aliens, women, and slaves. Obviously, it would taken considerable adaptation to make the Athenian constitution fit a modern country like ours, which, small though it is, has a population of 27 millions.

But if history can give us no foresight whatever, and precious little hindsight, what **can** it give us? I suppose we can say that history gives us a knowledge of men. Not the abstract knowledge we derive from philosophy, not the more or less fictional knowledge we derive from literature, but a concrete, existential knowledge; a knowledge of men acting, men suffering, men in every conceivable circumstance of life and death. This historical knowledge of men cannot of course take the place of the direct and immediate experience we must acquire of living men: of our friends, neighbors, enemies. But it may possibly broaden and enrich that experience. It is something, after all, to be able to go back two thousand years and listen to a man like Socrates, a man who suffered death rather than abandon the search for truth.

> Wherefore, O judges, be of good cheer about death, and know of a certainty, that no evil can happen to a good man, either in life or after death. He and his are not neglected by the gods; nor has my own approaching end happened by mere chance. But I see clearly that the time had arrived when it was better for me to die and be released from trouble; wherefore the oracle gave no sign. For which reason also, I am not angry with my condemners, or with my accusers; they have done me no harm, although they did not mean to do me any good; and for this I may gently blame them.
>
> Still I have a favour to ask of them. When my sons are grown up, I would ask you, O my friends, to punish them; and I would have you trouble them, as I have troubled you, if they seem to care about riches, or anything, more than about virtue; reprove them, as I have reproved you, for not caring about that for which they ought to care, and thinking that they are something when they are really nothing. And if you do this, both I and my sons will have received justice at your hands.
>
> The hour of departure has arrived, and we go our ways—I to die, and you to live. Which is better God only knows.

And it is something to be able to stand perhaps at the same place, some three hundred years later, and listen to a man like Paul, a man who had found the Truth, and would not cease to preach it until he too suffered death.

> Men of Athens, wherever I look I find you scrupulously religious. Why, in examining your monuments as I passed

> by them, I found among others an altar which bore the inscription, To the unknown God. And it is this unknown object of your devotion that I am revealing to you. The God who made the world and all that is in it, that God who is Lord of heaven and earth, does not dwell in temples that our hands have made; no human handicraft can do him service, as if he stood in need of anything, he, who gives to all of us life and breath and all we have. It is he who has made, of one single stock, all the nations that were to dwell over the whole face of the earth. And he has given to each the cycles it was to pass through and the fixed limits of its habitation, leaving them to search for God; would they somehow grope their way towards him? Would they find him? And yet, after all, he is not far from any of us; it is in him that we live, and move, and have our being; thus, some of your own poets have told us, For indeed, we are his children. Why then, if we are the children of God, we must not imagine that the divine nature can be represented in gold, or silver, or stone carved by man's art and thought. God has shut his eyes to these passing follies of ours; now, he calls upon all men, everywhere, to repent, because he has fixed a day when he will pronounce just judgment on the whole world. And the man whom he has appointed for that end he has accredited to all of us, by raising him up from the dead.

From such experiences, admittedly vicarious, what may we expect to gain? Perhaps, a kind of wisdom. Not ready-made solutions to our present ills; not fantastic speculations as to the future; but the courage to face the facts, the humility to learn from them, the intelligence to act upon them, and the faith to believe that if we do what in us lies, God will do the rest.

III. TEACHING HISTORY

In our first two sessions we saw what history is and what history is for. Let us now turn our attention to the teaching of history — how history can be or should be taught.

Basically, the teaching of history ought not to be different from that of any other subject involving a text. The Jesuit

Educational Code gives convenient labels to the various stages of the process:

(Write on the board:)
PRAELECTIO
LECTIO
RECITATIO

First, the student is asked to read over the text himself, before he comes to class — look up the difficult words, note down for later questioning what he cannot understand even after a second reading — in general, see what he can make out of it himself. This is the "prelection".

Then, in class, the teacher goes over the text and explains it; by himself at first, then with ever greater participation by the students. This is the "lesson".

Finally, the teacher checks on whether the students have really learned the lesson by making them state it in their own words and in various shapes and forms, either at an oral quiz period or a written examination. This is the "recitation".

This would seem to be the way the mind works, and hence it ought to be the way in which teaching should proceed. These fundamental operations should be the main work of the history class; there is no substitute for them.

There are a number of devices which can be used to supplement and enrich them, without taking their place. Such would be what are called "visual aids."

There is hardly any subject in which visual aids are more useful, and even necessary than history. This is because, as we have seen, the task of history is to reconstruct, to recall, to bring back to life, a community of men now vanished — and often enough a community utterly remote and strange from our own, in space as well as time. This is a difficult task, and the more senses we can call to our assistance, the better our chances of success.

It would be a marvelous thing if every history teacher could take his class aboard a model of Columbus' **Santa Maria**, and from its quarterdeck, sailing west from the Azores, show them how the great Age of Discovery began. Or if he could give his lectures on the history of Rome in the Forum of Trajan . . . Unfortunately, this is impossible.

But all is not lost. There are pictures, and there are maps.

(Show several panels of the enlargements of LIFE'S pictorial essay on THE MEDIEVAL WORLD).

For teaching the history of Europe, a map of Europe — or better still a series of historical maps — is almost essential.

(Show Map of the Barbarian Invasions.)

Here is a map of Europe which shows, visually, what happened between the fourth and sixth centuries of our era.

(Explain:

The line-up of the Germanic nations on the Rhine-Danube frontier on the eve of the mass migrations.

The pressure of the Huns piling up on these nations from the Central Asian steppes.

The break in the Roman dyke: mass crossing of the Danube by the Visigoths; Battle of Adrianople.

The "full-court press"; Vandals, Franks, Burgundians, Ostrogoths; and the Saxon flanking movement.

The final settlement.)

Physical maps are useful for showing the influence of geography upon history.

(Show physical-political map of Asia.)

This shows quite clearly the physical features which have conditioned the development of Chinese civilization from its remote origins to the present.

(Explain:

Land configuration;
River systems;
Wind regime.)

Then too, with a map before us, the opposing strategies in a war becomes much easier to grasp.

Take the naval war in which the Spaniards in the Philippines, the Portuguese in India, and the Dutch in Java were almost continually engaged during the first half of the seventeenth century.

(Same map: Explain:

Theater of operations;
Causes of the war;
Dutch strategy;
Spanish countermoves;
Results.)

And even if pictures and maps are lacking, there is always the blackboard. Even if the teacher cannot draw to save his life, a blackboard drawing or diagram has this advantage over even the most elaborate, colorful and expensive "visual aid" — it is dynamic — it moves, it develops.

What was the situation at Austerlitz when the Russian and Austrian armies moved to cut off Napoleon from Vienna and thus bring him to his knees?

(Explain Battle of Austerlitz graphically:

The physical elements: village of Austerlitz, Brunn-Olmutz Road, River Goldbach, Plateau of Pratzen

Disposition of Allied troops and Allied plans

Napoleon's decision to counterattack rather than assume the defensive

He draws out the Allied left, attacks the Allied right, thus thinning out the Allied center

At the proper moment he sends Lannes to smash the Allied center)

I suppose there are as many ways of teaching history as there are history teachers. Everyone develops his own particular style of teaching.

You might get a little more agreement on what we should try to get our students to learn — on what the books call the "objectives" of history teaching.

For what it is worth, I would like at this point to describe what I myself try to put across in my college classes at the Ateneo.

First, I must confess that I don't give a great deal of importance to the sheer memorizing of a lot of details and dates. This may be because I am very poor at remembering dates myself.

But aside from that, I don't think it serves any particular purpose to carry this type of information around in one's head. It only clutters up the place; makes it into a crowded attic with little or no room for the principal activity which should go on there, namely, thinking.

Except for a few really crucial dates which ought to be part of the furniture of every educated mind — 1492, perhaps, at least for Americans, and 1521 for Filipinos — why bother to remember any others permanently? You can always look them up. It seems to me much more sensible to remember **where** you can look them up; for instance, in Langer's **Cyclopedia of History.**

Rather than remember exact dates, I would have students of history develop a sense of **duration**; of how long or how quickly it took something to happen in history. It helps us, for instance, to realize that a young man going to the university when Luther nailed his epoch-making theses on the door of the church of Wittenberg would be only in his middle fifties when the Peace of Augsburg set up the principle that every prince could decide the religion of his subjects. In other words, he would have witnessed within his lifetime the definitive destruction of the religious and cultural unity of Europe. That was how long the main phase of the Reformation took: less than half of century.

On the other hand, the so-called barbarian invasion of the Roman Empire took the better part of three centuries: from the middle of the fourth century to the end of the sixth and somewhat beyond it. This is only a little short of the entire Spanish regime in the Philippines, from the first settlement by Legazpi to the Revolution; a long time. This helps us quite a bit to understand the nature of that process. It was not, as is sometimes represented, a sudden cataclysm — a flash flood which overwhelmed the entire civilized West. There were, it is true, brief periods of extreme violence and widespread destruction within that time; but in between, there must have been long periods of a slow, gradual barbarization; of subsidence to the lower level of culture of the Dark Ages.

Even more important than a sense of duration, I believe. is the ability to perceive **causal relationships.** If the college student derives nothing more than this from his history course, I for one will be well satisfied. In fact, I think this is what chiefly distinguishes college history from high school history. In the high school history course the emphasis should be mainly on **what** happened; in the college history course it should be mainly on **why** it happened, and **what resulted** because it happened: historical cause and effect.

(Here give sample test questions and answers.)

A third objective of college history might be to develop the ability to **classify**; to sort out a multiplicity of facts and fit them into a rational pattern of coordinates and subordinates.

For instance: if the student is merely told to read the chapter on "The Rise of Islam", what he will retain will probably be a series of unrelated statements such as this:

1. Moslem expansion was rapid.
2. The Moslems practiced polygamy.
3. Protracted wars had weakened the Byzantine and Persian Empires.
4. Islam is a monotheistic religion.
5. Islam united the Arabs, a vigorous and warlike people, in a common cause.
6. Moslem believe in life after death.
7. The Arab conquests made the Mediterranean a Moslem lake.
8. Moslems make formal prayer six times a day.

But if the assignment calls for an outline to be submitted at the next class, the student will have to do some thinking on how these statements relate to one another, and he will, after much salutary exertion, come up with something like this (or so we hope):

- ISLAM
  - *Doctrine*
    - monotheism (4)
    - life after death (6)
  - *Practice*
    - polygamy (2)
    - prayer (8)
  - *Expansion*
    - NATURE—rapid (1)
    - CAUSES
      - Arab military prowess (5)
      - Weakness of enemies (3)
    - EFFECTS — Mediterranean a Moslem lake (7)

Any normally active mind, after being made to wrestle with a basic text in this way, will soon begin to have questions of its own. No textbook, least of all a history textbook, can possibly contain all the answers. What then? Will the teacher supply the answers? To some questions he will; but not to all.

He will take the questioner aside and he will say: "You know, this is a good question that you have asked. Historians have been arguing about it for years. Was the Renaissance really a return to classical antiquity? Or was it rather the final flowering of medieval culture? Why don't you go to the library and read Burckhardt: **The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy?** And then after that read Taylor: **The Medieval Mind.** Then come back and tell me about it."

With luck, the teacher has accomplished something of value. He has pushed off another mind from the shores of the safe, the known, the cut-and-dried, the realm of predigested textbook learning, to sail forth on adventures of its own; and who knows with what rich argosy, what golden fleece from what remote and unimagined shore, it will return?

I suppose this is the supreme ambition of the history teacher --and indeed of any teacher; to communicate to someone else not so much a set of facts as something of the overpowering excitement which he himself has experienced at the thought that the realm of the mind is full of problems, and that somewhere out there, just below the horizon, the answers wait for whoever is venturesome and mettlesome enough to go and look for them,

It has been said that there are two ways of teaching: one dogmatic, based an the principle "To teach is to affirm," the other problematic, based on the principle "To teach is to put problems."

These methods are not, I think, mutually exclusive. They are complementary, and in history at any rate the movement should be from the first to the second. The student must begin by making his own what is known for certain — what teacher and textbook affirm. But we must make him do this — and this, I suppose, is the secret of all successful teaching — in such a way that he will want to go on from there, on his own hook, on his own steam, asking his own questions and finding his own answers. For when we have done that, we have done all that can reasonably be asked of teachers; we have changed a boy into a man.

# # #

He who knows not and knows not he knows not,

he is a fool — shun him;

He who knows not and knows he knows not,

he is simple — teach him;

He who knows and knows not he knows,

he is asleep — wake him;

He who knows and knows he knows,

he is wise — follow him.

Arabic Apothegm

ANSON'S CAPTURE OF THE MANILA GALLEON

By Carlos Quirino

Next to the British occupation of Manila in 1762, the most exciting episode in the relations between the two countries was the capture by Commodore George Anson of the fabulously rich Manila Galleon, the "**Nuestra Senora de Covadonga**," off the coast of Samar in 1743.

Since the time Thomas Cavendish, or Candish as he is sometimes called, captured the galleon from Manila off the coast of Lower California in 1587, British privateers — a more genteel word for pirates — had been spurred to try for the richest prize in the maritime annals of the Pacific Ocean: the seizure of the merchant ship that plied annually between Manila and Acapuuco. A series of English adventurers attempted in the next century and a half after Cavandish to waylay the Manila Galleon, but failed. William Dampier took part in three attempts made on the great Spanish ship;[1] so did Woodes Rogers in the first decade of the eighteenth century; while Clipperton and Shelvocke, captains of the mercantile association politely known as "The Gentlemen Adventurers," fell to quarreling and missed the annual galleon from Acapulco in the spring of 1719.

When another general war in Europe seemed near over the question of the Austrian succession in 1739, the British government adopted a plan to attack the Spanish settlements and vessels in the Caribbean and the Pacific. English merchants were anxious to destroy the Spanish monopoly of trade in South America, and force the Castilians to allow them to participate in the commerce of that area. At that time, George Anson was captain of H.M.S. **Centurion**, which he had commanded for the previous two years in the West Indies; he received an order early in 1740 to sail round Cape Horn into the South Seas and there "annoy and distress the Spaniards, either at sea or on land, to the utmost of your power."[2] Thus, for the first time since Sir Francis Drake and Walter Raleigh roamed the Spanish main, British ships were at liberty to plunder enemy towns and vessels with the official approval of their government.

---

[1] Clennel Wilkinson, "Dampier: Explorer and Buccaneer." New York, 1929.

Several months were to pass before Anson was able to leave the anchorage at Spithead, due to the inefficiency of the admiralty in outfitting the flotilla. When he sailed in September of 1740, the group was composed of six men-of-war and two merchant ships known as "victuallers" or supply vessels. Such were the dangers and rigors of the trip around the world, even in those late days, that only one ship — the **Centurion** — returned safely to England four years later, but with a booty worth nearly half a million pounds of sterling!

The **Centurion**, although considered as a man-of-war, was by no means the best warship in the English fleet: she was classified as a fourth-rater, carried 60 guns with 32 officers, 367 seamen and 122 marines, with a displacement of a little over 1,000 tons. But for master she had one of the best officers in the entire fleet — George Anson. He had joined the navy at fourteen, became acting lieutenant four years later, and was given command of a sloop at twenty-four, rising to be post-captain when he was only twenty-seven years old. He had served as a subaltern under many commands, and was a thoroughly seasoned and experienced naval commander when he was appinted commodore of the expedition to the South Seas.

After some skirmishes with Spanish ships in South America and sacking the town of Payta in Chile, Anson decided to abandon the Mexican coast near Acapulco for Canton, China, where he could refit his remaining two vessels. He had not given up, however, his earlier resolve to capture, if possible, the Manila Galleon — but instead of waiting for it in California or Mexican waters, to surprise it near the entrance to the Philippine archipelago.

The two ships, the **Centurion** and the **Gloucester**, encountered a typhoon in mid-Pacific. The latter nearly foundered in the storm and had to be abandoned. After taking the crew and as much of the contents of value from her hold, Anson ordered that she be burned on an August morning in 1742. The fortunes of the expedition seemed at its lowest ebb: two of Anson's fighting ships had deserted him, one had been completely wrecked, two more he had been obliged to destroy, and of the 1,955 men mustered on the day he left England, only about 350 men remained; and of these some eight to twelve men would fall sick or drop dead every day from the dreaded sickness of scurvy arising from the ignorance of proper nutrition. In the next several months, he was to lose a third of his remaining crew to disease.

---

[2] Vice-Admiral Boyle Somerville, "Commodore Anson's Voyage into the South Seas and around the World," London, 1934, p. xiv.

Fortunately, the **Centurion** was carried by the ocean currents towards the Ladrones or Mariana islands where they made landfall in one of the coral islands near Tinian. Here they rested, fed on the island's coconuts, breadfruit, goats, swine, fowl and other fresh food. Two months later, late in October of 1742 they set sail for the China coast by way of the Balintang Channel north of Luzon.

For nearly six months the British warship was anchored off the Macao Roads while being provisioned and outfitted for the homeward journey halfway across the globe. The Chinese shipwrights were both quick and efficient, and by March of the following year, 1743, "the **Centurion** had been entirely repaired in the hull and re-sheathed with lead, so that she could be uprighted once more, and the guns, ammunition, stores and crew restored to their original quarters."[3] The Spaniards in Manila, of course, had been informed of the arrival of the British in the Portuguese colony, but the inept Governor Gaspar de la Torre followed a passive course and even refused an offer to destroy the British warship while it was being careened. At a Council of War called in Manila early that year the threat from Anson was discussed, but again La Torre discounted the danger to the galleon from that source. The governor finally ordered the **Pilar** to sail early in June for the Strait of San Bernardino to convoy the great ship from Acapulco, but she left Cavite so late that it was useless — eighteen days earlier, the **Centurion** had engaged and captured the **Covadonga** off Samar island. Several months later, the Spaniards sent a small squadron to waylay Anson along the China coast, but again it proved unavailing, because the British had cleared for the East Indies even before the Spanish ships had left Manila bay.

---

[3] Somerville, op. cit., p. 213.

When Commodore Anson left Macao on April 19 he had purposely let it be known that their vessel was homeward bound, in order to throw the Spaniards in Manila off their guard, but as soon as he was out of sight of land and the coastwise junks, he mustered the crew on the quarter-deck of the **Centurion** to announce their immediate destination "not to England, not even to Batavia — but to Cape Espiritu Santo in the Philippine Islands, there to catch the Manila galleon!"[4] Three cheers greeted his announcement, for the prospects of capturing the immensely rich merchant vessel fired every hand with unwonted enthusiasm. The warship, which had kept a southern course to fool any spies, veered sharply west for the Bashi Channel south of Formosa, then south southeast for nearly a thousand miles until a month later she sighted Cape Espiritu Santo on the northeastern coast of Samar. The commodore immediately ordered the upper sails to be lowered, in order not to be seen from the coast, because Philippine authorities kept a look-out station there to watch for the galleon and any enemy ship that might be in the vicinity. For nearly a month, the **Centurion** cruised slowly in these waters awaiting her prey.

Finally, at sunrise in the morning of June 19, 1743, a midshipman on the masthead of the **Centurion** shouted that he had espied the sails of a large ship far, far away on the southeastern horizon. The British ship braced up her yards and stood as nearly in the direction as the sails would allow, to close the incoming ship. The galleon, the **"Nuestra Senora de Covadonga,"** continued blithely on her way in a straight line for the **Centurion** in the erroneous belief that it was the sister ship **Pilar** that had been sent from Manila to convoy her. The captain of the galleon was Geronimo de Monteiro, a Portuguese of wide experience who had crossed the Pacific Ocean as pilot on several previous trips. He had been told at Guam of Anson's visit, but had concluded the English vessel was enroute to India by that time, and had likewise been informed of the **Pilar's** trip; on both counts he was sadly mistaken, and his misplaced confidence was to cost him his command and his ship.

---

[4] Somerville, op. cit. p. 217

Half an hour before noon the two vessels had come to a recognizable distance, although still outside the gunfire range. The galleon took in her top-gallant sails and fired a gun. Obligingly, Anson returned the salute. Then the **Centurion** cut across the wake of the galleon and turned so as to come up on her lee (or port) side, in order to place herself between the Spanish ship and the coast of Samar. Some thirty miles to the northwest wast the port of Palápag, and Anson wanted to seal off that possible route of escape during the encounter. This inimical maneuver clearly revealed the purpose of the strange ship, and the galleon immediately hauled up her foresail, hove-to under her topsails, and hoisted the Spanish color at her ensign staff. But Anson purposely kept the Spaniards guessing and did not hoist his own colors until the two ships had crept to within gunshot distance. By that time, the **Covadonga** was alive with frenzied activity for the ensuing battle by casting overboard all lumber that might cause splinters as well as cattle that had been taken at Guam to be eaten on the return voyage.

In point of size, the two ships were evenly matched. The **Covadonga** was about a hundred tons larger than the **Centurion** but carried only forty-two guns between decks or twelve less than the latter. She was more sturdily built, and therefore slower and probably less maneuverable than the British ship. Here the resemblance ended, for the **Centurion** was a warship of the line, with a disciplined and experienced crew under a veteran seadog, while the **Covadonga** was a merchant ship intended for the carrying of cargoes rather than fighting at sea. More important still, during the month of waiting for the arrival of the galleon, Anson had rigidly trained his gun crew in the fast and accurate handling of their guns. He had drilled them intensively and unceasingly every day: drill with the heavy guns, drill with small-arms and boarding-pikes, drill with the supply of powder and ammunition to the guns from below, drill with the fire-brigade, and even drill for the cooks, stewards, carpenters' crew, coopers and blacksmiths. Anson's plan was to bring the **Centurion** close to the side of the galleon before firing a single shot, so that his heavy guns could bear on the enemy. A modern naval expert has commented on the procedure used by Anson in these words:[5]

> "The manipulation of the guns on their solid wooden truck-carriages was heavy work, as well as skilled work. Speed in loading and running out the guns, ready to fire, was the main object of the drill, for practice in laying the guns and aiming them could almost be dispensed with [at point-blank range] . . . The chief effort was to fire off as many cannon-balls or grape-shot into the enemy's side, or along his decks, as could be fired in a given time. For each round the bore of the gun must be thoroughly sponged, and the touchhole cleaned out with the priming-iron, then loaded and primed, the heavy gun-port triced up and gun run out by special tackles, helped by hand-spikes, which were long wooden levers, also used for training the rear of the gun from side to side when aiming. When all was ready, the quarter-gunner — there was one for every four guns — applied the burning slow-match on the end of his lint-stock, and the shock of discharge brought gun and carriage and all jumping and thumping back in-board, to be brought up by a stout rope called the 'breeching', which passed through two big holes in the front of the carriage, and was fastened at each end to strong bolts in the ship's side. Down came the gun-port then as a precaution against musket-fire or grape shot coming through the porthole, and the operation of loading and firing went on at high speed again . . . Men and boys had to be detained for the supply of powder and ball to the guns; and others, as essential, for water for the sponges at each gun, water for washing down blood from the decks to prevent the gunners from slipping on it; more water still for extinguishing the frequent fires in a wooden ship."

The heaviest gun, the 24-pounders, were on the lower gun-deck (twelve on each side); while thirteen 9-pounders were ranged on each side of the upper gun-deck. Two men were detailed to remain at each of these twenty-five guns; the other side was perforce left vacant because of the shortage in man-power. The duty of these fifty men was solely to sponge and load their gun. The remaining gunners were made up into several parties of about ten or twelve men each, and their work was to run from gun to gun as it was ready, trice up the gunport, run out the gun, fire it, and bring up a new charge of powder and ball for the the two men of the gun to re-load it. Then they ran on to the next gun that was ready.

---

[5] Vice-Admiral Somerville, op. cit., p. 220.

Under this arrangement, following the first broadside when all twenty-five guns would fire simultaneously, each gun would be fired independently and rapidly to the confusion of the enemy, for Anson had discovered that in Spanish vessels the gun's crews customarily flattened themselves on the deck whenever they would see the enemy about to fire a broadside, and thus in this manner escape the deadly effect of the enemy guns. But under Anson's new gunnery instructions, the Spaniards would never know which gun would fire next.

For further measure, the commodore had posted a picked group of sharpshooters — twelve in all, four to each mast — to fire from the tops. He had trained them assiduously for the past month in musket practice, and all had become very efficient shooters. Their task was to clear the enemy rigging and top (or open) deck of marksmen and handlers of grape-shot and "pedereroes" or four-pound cannons similar to modern out-size shotguns.

By 12:30 the two ships were about half a mile apart, parallel to each other. Anson changed his mind about not firing a shot until he was well within point-blank range, and ordered his bow guns to fire some preliminary rounds in order to confuse the enemy. The galleon fired with her stern-chaser guns, but without doing much harm. Anson then ordered the **Centurion** cleared for action by swinging the sprit-sail yard fore and aft in order to be able to bring his ship alongside the galleon and board her over the bows.

"But when they saw us get this yard fore and aft, as it were in a moment, which is an infallible sign of a design to board the enemy, they immediately imagined that we had been at China, or some other part of the Indies, and that we had got a recruit of men and designed to carry them by boarding," related one of the **Centurion's** officers.[6] "However, not to appear to us discouraged, they did the same, but not with the same cheerfulness and readiness. Another thing which served to dismay them, and facilitate our conquest, was the hauling up our ports and running out our lower-deck guns, for — till they saw that — they never imagined we had enough men to fight them. These two accidents, as I was afterwards assured by several of the prisoners, contributed not a little to our taking the ship with no further resistance than we met with."

A little puff of wind at one o'clock brought the British warship along the lee side of the galleon. This was the moment Anson had long been waiting for. With a terrific blast from her twenty-five guns firing a broadside, the **Centurion** commenced the engagement in deadly earnest.

"For the first half hour, Mr. Anfon over-reached the galeon and lay on her bow where, by the great widenefs of his ports, he could traverfe almoft all his guns upon the enemy, whilft the galeon could only bring a part of hers to bear," relates the ship's chaplain, Richard Walter, in his book "A Voyage Round the World . . . by George Anson" and published in London in 1748.[7] (We have preserved the archaic spelling for greater authenticity.)

"Immediately, on the commencement of the action, the mats, with which the galeon had ftuffed her netting, took fire, and burnt violently, blazing up half as high as the mizen-top. This accident (fuppofed to be caufed by the Centurion's wads) threw the enemy into utmoft terror, and afso alarmed the Commodore; for he feared left the galeon fhould be burnt, and left he himfelf too might fuffer by her driving on board him. However, the Spaniards at laft freed themfelves from the fire. by cutting away the netting, and tumbling the whole mafts, which was in flames, into the fea. All this interval the **Centurion** kept her firft advantageous pofition, firing her cannot with great regularity and brifkefs; whilft at the fame time the galeon's decks lay open to her topmen who, having at their firft volley driven the Spaniards from their tops, made prodigious havock with their fmall arms, killing or wounding every officer but one that appeared upon the quarter-deck, and wounding in particular the General of the galeon himfelf.

---

[6] Pascoe Thomas, "Journal" London, 1745.

[7] From the fifteenth edition, London, 1776, pp. 379-80.

"Thus the action proceeded for at leaft half an hour; but then the **Centurion** loft the fuperiority arifing from her original fituation, and was clofe along the fide the galeon, and the enemy continued to fire brifkly for near an hour longer; yet even in this pofture the Commodore's grape-fhot fwept their decks fo effectually, and the number of their flain and wounded became fo considerable, that they began to fall into great diforder, efpecially as the General, who was the life of the action, was no longer capable of exerting himfelf.

"Their confufion was vifible from on board the Commodore. For the fhips were fo near that fome of the Spanifh officers were feen running about with much affiduity to prevent the defertion of their men from their quarters: but all their endeavours were in vain; for after having, as a laft effort, fired five or fix guns with more judgment than usual, they yielded up the conteft; and, the galeon's colours being finged off the enfign ftaff in the beginning of the engagement, fhe ftruck the ftandard at her main-top-gallant maft-head; the perfon who was employed to perform this office having been in imminent peril of being killed, had not the Commodore, who perceived what he was about, given exprefs orders to his people to defift from firing."

The battle had lasted eighty minutes. Anson gave the command to cease firing when he saw the galleon haul down her colors. A small fire had started in the **Centurion** below decks, near the powder room, when a careless powder boy had thrown away a burning cartridge from his hands; but the fire-brigade quickly extinguished the blaze before it had gotten out of control. The galleon, no longer attended by her crew, crashed her starboard quarter into the port bows of the **Centurion**; but little damage was done, and presently both vessels drifted apart.

Anson then ordered a cutter to be lowered under the command of Lt. Philip Saumarez, his senior assistant, to bring back the galleon's principal officers and take possession of the prize.

"Their decks afforded such a scene as may be supposed after a sharp dispute, being promiscuously covered with carcases, entrails and dismembered limbs," described Saumarez.[8] "The main hatchway likewise contained several of their dead, which had been thrown down during the action, as I learned afterwards they had been industriously employed in throwing the slain overboard since their first striking their colours to my coming. At my arrival on board I found the Spaniards in that state of mind the conquered may generally be supposed to be in; namely, doubtful of the treatment they were to receive, and at the same time impressed with no great opinion of our humanity; they having represented us to themselves as a set of cannibals, which conviction their priests take care to inculcate, especially with the Indians. Having complemented them, however, on their behaviour and resolute resistance, I assured them of such quarter and usage as their bravery deserved, and set the officers on board the Commodore as fast as I could; the weather beginning to look very windy, and having at the moment but ten persons on board a ship that appeared crowded with men. By eight in the evening I had sent away over 300 prisoners in the longboat and cutter, having been in the meantime reinforced from the Commodore with fifty men and officers."

The galleon, it turned out, had 644 persons aboard, of whom 64 were killed or died of their wounds; on the other hand, the **Centurion** lost only 1 man killed and 17 wounded. Monteiro had been twice wounded, once severely in the chest, and remained temporarily on board his ship and attended to by the English surgeon, Joseph Allen. With his removal from action by the chest wound, demoralization among Spanish ranks had set in; his men were so "dismayed by their losses that many had abandoned their posts."[9] A few days later, when he was transferred to the British warship, "he almost wept for shame when he discovered the insignificant force that had subdued him."[10] Against the 644 persons aboard the **Covadonga**, the **Centurion** had only 227 men to oppose her.

Among the Spanish prisoners was the governor of Guam enroute to Manila, who 36 years before had taken prisoner in

---

[8] In a letter to his family dated Nov. 11, 1742, from Macao, and a second letter of his account of the capture of the **Covadonga** included in Thomas Keppel's "The Life of Augustus, Viscount Keppel etc." London, 1842.

9, 10, and 11. Related by eyewitnesses, as quoted by Somerville, op. cit. pp. 232-3.

Almanza, Spain, Captain Crowden of the British marines; and upon recognizing each other, with roles reversed, these two "renewed their ancient acquaintance."[11] In general, the prisoners were treated very humanely, considering the circumstances and the epoch: Monteiro was transferred to Anson's cabin, and his 18 officers confined at Saumarez' cabin below; 100 were returned to the galleon, while the remainder were placed on the orlop deck, the lowest in the **Centurion**, below the water-line.

During the engagement, "we expended 341 round shot beside an abundance of grape, double-headed and small shot, and about 24 barrels of powder," Anson reported later to the Admiralty.[12] "The greatest damage I received was by my foremast, mainmast, and bowsprit being wounded, and my rigging shot to pieces, having received only fifteen shot through my hull, while the galleon's masts and rigging were shot to pieces, and 150 shot passed through her hull, many of which were between wind and water, which occasioned her to be very leaky."

Obviously, the devastating fire power of the **Centurion** was the decisive factor in defeating the **Covadonga.** The officers and crew of the galleon later testified in an inquiry held in Manila of the terrifying effectiveness of the British gunnery; they were amazed by the "continuous fire" of the English, which never slackened in the nearly hour-and-a-half of the engagement, and by the accuracy of their aim. Monteiro, who was suspected because of his Portuguese nationality, stoutly claimed later that he had done everything in his power for the proper defense of his ship, but had simply been "overwhelmed" by the enemy.

For the next ten days, as the two ships — one towing the other — sailed slowly to the north of Luzon, the greater part of the booty was transferred from the galleon to the **Centurion.** Saumarez had initially transferred 112 bags and six chests of dollars containing 130,000 dollars during the first day of his command of the prize ship, but was amazed at the treasure he found in the hold: silver ingot, brand-new from the mines of Mexico and Peru, weighing 35,682 ounces, and 1,313,843 **reales** or pieces-of -of-eight—or about 400,000 pounds sterling independent of ships costly merchandise. The total value of the prizes taken by the Centurion, including those taken in Payta and other prizes, reached the staggering amount of nearly half a million pounds — or somewhere around ten million pesos in our present currency. This silver was payment for the silks, spices and riches from China that had been shipped earlier on the eastward bound galleon, and the loss was a terrible financial blow to Manila merchants who had backed the venture.

---

[12] From a manuscript report in the British Admiralty signed by Anson after his return.

Anson decided to return to the China coast "for the safety of the galleon and of the great treasure in her which could not be remov'd, the weather being very tempestuous."[13] He had two other good reasons for doing so: he wanted to rid himself of the numerous prisoners who were a burden to his diminishing stores of food and water, and to sell the galleon in Macao for what he could get. He reached the Pearl river on July 11, but it took nearly six months to accomplish his ends due to the dilatoriness of the Canton officials to furnish him with the necessary stores for the homeward journey. Finally, on December 15, 1743, he set sail for England where he anchored off St. Helen's in the Isle of Wight on June 15, 1744. He had been away for three years and nine months.

The Lords of the Admiralty were cold towards Anson, but as his exploits became known, principally because of Chaplain Walter's book which went into nearly a score of editions, he was promoted to rear admiral ten months after his return, and vice admiral a year later; he was also made a member of the Board of the Admiralty, where he introduced many reforms that raised the standard and efficiency of the British navy; and after defeating a French fleet off Cape Finisterre in the Iberian peninsula in 1747, he was raised to the peerage and named First Lord of the Admiralty in 1762. Curiously enough, he was occupying this exalted position when Admiral Cornish captured Manila in 1763.

The majority of the Spanish prisoners, including Monteiro, reached Manila on December 2, and great was the dismay in the islands when definite news of the encounter was received.[14] A Council of War was held and after protracted deliberations decided to dispatch a punitive expedition against Anson — three months after the Commodore had left Canton. The process against Monteiro and officers of the **Covadonga** was held in Manila, but not until February 1754, eleven years later, did the king absolve them of cowardice and of failure to perform their duty. But a scapegoat had been found: the Council of the Indies five years earlier had placed responsibility for the disaster on the person of the Governor General, whom it accused of gross negligence for not having given protection to the galleon after having reached Philippine waters. According to the chronicler of the Manila galleons, William Lytle Schurz, "his failure to act on the warning from China in sufficient time weighed heavily against him in the final decision of the supreme government."[15] These reverses affected adversely the health of the aged governor who succumbed to an illness in September of 1745.

---

[13] Anson's report to the Admiralty.
[14] José Montero y Vidal, "Historia General de Filipinas," Madrid, 1887, vol. 1, p. 478.

Thus ends one of the most exciting episodes in the relations between Britain and the Philipines, a forerunner of the British occupation of Manila two decades later and the capture of another richly-laden galleon, the **"Santisima Trinidad."**

---

[15] William Lytle Schurz, "The Manila Galleon," New York, 1959, 2nd ed. 337.

# # #

If history is to help us in any way to solve the great and difficult riddle of life in even the slightest degree, then we must look back from the areas of individual and social anxieties to a land where our vision is not immediately clouded with egoism. Perhaps from quieter contemplation at greater distance there will arise an intimation of the true character of our earthly pilgrimage.

—BURCKHARDT

PRIMER DOCUMENTO IMPRESO SOBRE LA HISTORIA DE LAS FILIPINAS

Por el Ing. Luis G. Miranda

Al erudito conocedor de la Historia de la América Española —desde los albores del descubrimiento del Nuevo Mundo hasta la emancipación de los Virreinatos durante las dos primeras décadas del siglo pasado— el es familiar la vinculación que existió entre las remotas Islas Filipinas y las Américas, y principalmente con México de quien Filipinas dependió como Capitanía General del Virreinato de la Nueva España por un período de doscientos cincuenta años.

El polígrafo de las Américas, don José Toribio Medina, fue entre los eruditos de su época el más consciente de estos hechos al mencionar en la carta-prólogo de su "Imprenta en Manila" (Santiago, 1896) que: "la tipografía de Filipinas estaba tan ligada a la del Virreinato de México que no era posible ocuparse de una sin tocar forzosamente la otra. Muchos de los hombres que figuraron en la América Española fueron a la Oceanía a servir cargos eclesiásticos y civiles; y por la inversa, muchos que habían iniciado su carrera literaria en Filipinas tuvieron ocasión de dar a la prensa sus labores intelectuales en México. El sabio chileno menciona entre otros nombres los del Dominico Fray Francisco Blancas de San José, padre de la imprenta en Manila; al doctor don Antonio de Morga, Teniente Gobernador de Filipinas, luego de la Real Audiencia en Manila y en México, y Presidente de la Audiencia en San Francisco de Quito: a Don Diego de Camacho y Avila, arzobispo de Manila y después obispo de Guadalajara; a Fray Diego de Gorozpe, nacido en Puebla y luego nombrado Obispo de Nueva Segovia en Filipinas; y tantos y tantos otros hombres famosos en sus hechos de armas y en sus escritos que han dejado un rastro permanente en las historias de ambos pueblos. "Tarea más larga, pues, de lo que parece, sería enumerar todos los personajes mejicanos que figuraron en Filipinas, o todos los que habiéndose distinguido en las Islas se hicieron notar en la Nueva España . . ." continúa diciendo nuestro don Toribio, y nosotros añadiríamos: "en la Nueva España y en otras regiones de las Américas".

Hace seis años, en octubre de 1954, el historiador mexicano don Alfonso Trueba dio a la luz una breve reseña sobre "La Conquista de las Islas Filipinas" la primera publicación, en su naturaleza, que expone en forma concisa y clara la aportación de México en la Conquista y Colonización del Archipiélago que Magallanes descubriera para España en 1521.

Nos referimos al Folleto Nos. 14 de la Serie "Figuras y Episodios de la Historia de México", Editorial Campeador, Distribución JUS. La edición fue de 1,000 ejemplares que ya agotados, justificó de 3,000 ejemplares por la Editorial JUS en junio de 1959.

Para el conocimiento de nuestros lectores copiamos algunos de los párrafos más sobresalientes de la breve reseña del señor Trueba:

a) **Prólogo.**

> España plantó en México la cultura occidental; México la transplantó al Archipiélago de las Filipinas.
>
> Aquí, en la nueva tierra americana, echa raices y florece la antigua cultura que a través del Atlántico nos trajeron los españoles, y nutrida con los jugos de nuestra propia esencia, amestizada, la llevaremos por aguas del Pacífico a las islas de un orbe diverso y lejano.
>
> La conquista de las Filipinas fue empresa de la vieja y de la nueva España.
>
> De un puerto mexicano se desprendieron las naves de la aventura y de la cruzada. De seda joyante de Cajaca eran los pendones; en las herrerías de la calle de Tlacopan forjáronse las espadas que reflejarían la luz de paises remotos; plata de Zacatecas y Guanajuato rodará en monedas por el mundo oriental; caballos de México, criollos caballos

domados por jinetes mexicanos, irán a extender la conquista; por siglos, el dinero de la Nueva España mantendrá flotando más allá del Pacífico las banderas del imperio español, y la fe se propagará bajo el amparo de una dulce Virgen mestiza: la Virgen de Guadalupe.

Las crónicas de los navegantes acusan el matiz criollo de la empresa. El viejo idioma castellano reverdece en vocablos de origen indio. Alonso de Arellano, capitán del "desderrotado" patache San Lucas, que formó parte de la famosa Armada, emplea en la narración de su viaje voces tan mexicanas como "petate", "jacal", "chiquihuite, tamal, "nagoas", "mecate". Es idioma que expresa mestizaje y denuncia el carácter novo-hispánico de la hazaña.

El alma de México, pues, se proyectó hacia otros mundos con la expedición de Filipinas. En los barcos de Lopez de Legazpi viajaron por vez primera los representantes de la nueva raza, cruzada en dos sentidos: porque era mixta, y porque su vocación era llevar la Cruz por el mundo.

Relataremos este episodio de **nuestra** historia para divulgarlo. México también ha sido **madre** de naciones, y es bueno que esto no se olvida. México, alguna vez, anduvo por el mundo secundando a España en sus grandes faenas civilizadores y misioneras como se verá en el relato que sigue.

b) Citas del P. Mariano Cuevas, S. J. en su "Monje y Marino", México, 1943.

Dice el Padre Cuevas a propósito de esta expedición:

Por el número de nativos de nuestro país y por haberse organizado en la ciudad de México con personal y elementos de ella y porque los mismos principales, Legazpi el primero, eran de vieja raigambre en este país y consideraban como suya esta patria de sus hijos y de sus glorias, esta expedición se consideró y se llamó desde aquellos tiempos **mexicana**".

Habla el mismo historiador de la "Carta que narra el venturoso descubrimiento que los mexicanos han hecho navegando con la Armada que S. M. mandó hacer en México", carta escrita por un tripulante, quien refiere que "los de México están ufanos con este descubrimiento, que tienen entendido que serán ellos el corazón del mundo".

Dice el P. Cuevas que "después de haber manejado tantos millares de documentos del Siglo XVI, podemos asegurar que este es el primero donde vemos la palabra **mexicano** usada, no como hasta entonces, para designar a los nativos indígenas, o a lo más a los criollos de la ciudad de México, sino a ese conjunto de tripulantes que fueron en esa navegación, mestizos, criollos y españoles de arraigo, unidos bajo este solo nombre: **mexicanos**".

El árbol de la nueva nación, plantada 40 años antes, estaba ya rindiendo frutos. De las primeras cosechas son esos mexicanos que van, mar adelante, a descubrir y conquistar tierras y a extender la fe cristiana bajo las banderas del rey que gobierna el imperio más grande del mundo, y el estandarte de una virgen nuestra: la Virgen de Guadalupe.

c) Preludio del Comercio Transpacífico.

Así vino a saber (Legazpi) que de Borneo llevaban hierro y estaño, que de la China traían porcelanas y de la India muchos artefactos. Legazpi demostró a los mercaderes los artículos de Castilla y Nueva España que en sus naves llevaba. Le dijeron entonces que aquellos artículos podrian venderlos muy pronto en Borneo, Siam o Malaca.

"Esta conversación — dice el Padre Cuevas— fue todo un torrente de luz para nuestros navegantes y primeros comerciantes mexicanos trasoceánicos. Por ese resquicio debieron ver los inmensos horizontes que se abrieron a la Nueva y a la antigua España en aquellos mares, que tal fue por casi tres siglos el comercio de mercancía exótica, rica y curiosísima de la China y de la India Oriental, y por nuestra parte las toneladas de plata en barra, amonedada y labrada que de aquí les enviábamos".

d) Peripecias de un Patache.

Unos pocos días después de que la armada zarpó del puerto de Navidad, se "desderrotó" — se extravió— el patache San Lucas, cuyo capitán era Alonso de Arellano, quien escribió el relato de las peripecias sufridas, relato pedregoso, según el

Padre Cuevas, y en el que abundan los giros y palabras de origen mexicano.

"El historiador — agrega el P. Cuevas— debe recoger este relato porque fue hazañ hecha por mexicanos conscientes de su incipiente nacionalidad".

Refiere Arellano que el viento apartó la pequeña embarcación del resto de la armada. Sufrieron tempestades, ciclones y corrientes contrarias. Anduvieron luego errando de una isla en otra. . . la comida se les agotó pronto y pasando hambres y borrascas descubrieron le Isla de Mindanao y "no sabiendo qué camino llevásemos — dice Arellano— hablé al piloto le que debíamos hacer que lo mejor era darla vuelta a la Nueva España".

Pasaron en esta vuelta trabajos peores que los sufridos antes. . . y al fin divisaron tierra de la Nueva España, y cuando estaban cerca de ella les sobrevino una terrible tormenta que casi despedazó el asendereado barquito.

"La fuerza y mar del tiempo —dice Arellano— nos llevó el trinquete y el que hicimos para remedio fue el que nos trajo a la Nueva España. . . y no zozobramos al atravesar de la Califoria. . . y ansi rogamos a Nuestra Señora nos lo guardase y ansí ella nos lo guardó, a quien prometimos todos se lo llevara a cuestas. . . a su santa casa de Guadalupe en México".

Estos osados navegantes, cuyo mexicanismo se revela en el hecho de que mil veces invocaron la protección de la Virgen de Guadalupe, seguramente cumplieron con su promesa ú ofrecimiento de ir todos a su iglesia para llevarla el "papaigo" ó vela los salvó del naufragio.

"Precioso tema para un pintor mexicano —sugiere Cuevas— la llegada de esos náufragos al pie del Tepeyac, trayendo en hombros los quince ó veinte subrevivientes tode ese mástil con su desgarrado velamen".

e) México en Filipinas.

La ruta que abrió Fray Andrés de Urdaneta fue le que se utilizó por más de 200 años (250 anos exactamente) en los viajes a las "islas del poniente", para el comercio entre nuestro país y las naciones de Asia (a través de Cavite y Manila), con las famosas "naos de China" (o galeones de Manila) cuyo punto de llegada y de partida era el puerto de Acapulco.

Enviábamos nosotros plata mexicana, de Zacatecas ó de Guanajuato, ya en barras, ya en moneda —nuestros pesos y tostones circulaban en China como ahora circula el dollar. Recibíamos en cambio exquisitos objetos de arte oriental; porcelana, bronce, seda, cerámica, trabajados por las manos pacientes de artistas de China o Japón.

La llegada de estos galeones al puerto de Acapulco se anunciaba en México por la campana mayor de la Catedral, y entonces los arrieros aparejaban sus hatajos de bien herradas mulas y tomaban el camino del puerto, donde uno o dos veces al año tenía lugar rumbosa feria...

España, a través de México y con la cooperación de México, levantó en Filipinas una civilización que no se extinguirá nunca. De aquí partieron los primeros subsidios para sostener la obra empezada por Legazpi...

México gastó en el desarrollo de la civilización de Filipinas, hasta el año de 1810, cuatrocientos millones de pesos — de aquellos pesos— porque de hecho estaba a cargo de nuestra nación la tutela de las islas.

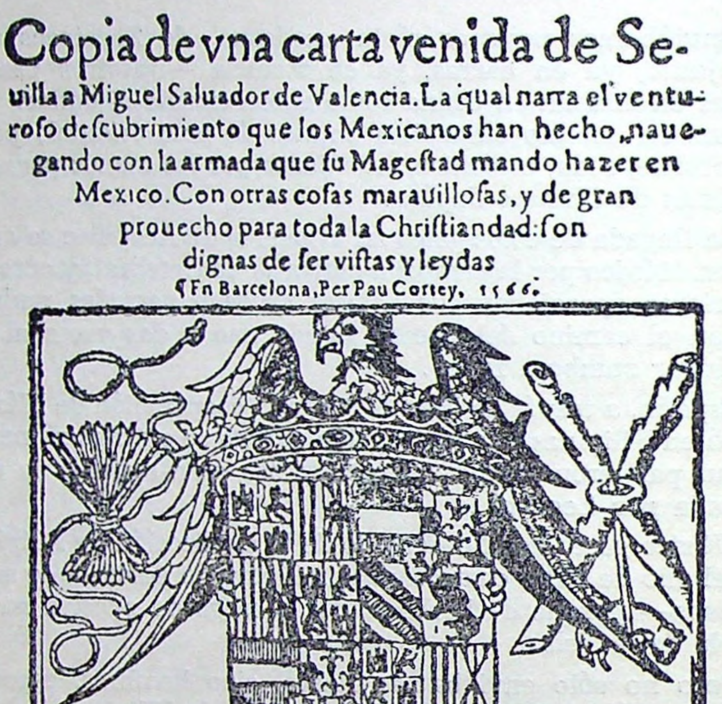
Pero no sólo enviábamos dinero, sino hombres, especialmente a extender la fe. La cristalización de Filipinas fue empresa mancomunada de México y España. De las misiones de Filipinas nacieron las del Japón y la China, en las que participaron también los mexicanos.

México participó, con sus barcos, su dinero y sus hombres en esta obra civilizadora...

El documento del Siglo XVI citado por el P. Mariano Cuevas en la página 203 de su obra "Monje y Marino", y cotejada por el señor Trueba, fue recientemente publicado en facsímil, con sus comentarios, por el ilustre y distinguido bibliófilo español don Carlos Sanz, bajo el título de:

Primer Documento Impreso de la Historia de las Islas Filipinas.
Relata la Expedición de Legazpi,
que llegó Cebú en 1565
Estampado en Barcelona el año 1566

Reproducimos la primera plana de la reproducción facsimilar, en donde aparece el titular del Documento, escudo de armas y el primer párrafo y parte del segundo del texto original.



Copia de vna carta venida de Seuilla a Miguel Saluador de Valencia. La qual narra el venturoſo deſcubrimiento que los Mexicanos han hecho, nauegando con la armada que ſu Mageſtad mando hazer en Mexico. Con otras coſas marauilloſas, y de gran prouecho para toda la Chriſtiandad: ſon dignas de ſer viſtas y leydas

¶ En Barcelona, Per Pau Cortey, 1566.

DEſto de la China ay dos relaciones, y es, que a los deziſiete de Nouiembre del año de mil y quiniētos y ſeſſenta y quatro, por mandado de ſu Mago. ſe hizo vna armada en el puerto de la Natiuidad ó la mar del Sur, cient leguas de Mexico, de dos naues, y dos patayſos, para deſcubrir las yslas de la eſpeceria, que las llaman Philippinas, por nueſtro Rey, coſtaron mas de ſeyſcientos mil peſos de Atipuſque hechas a la vela.

¶ Partieron el dicho dia del puerto, y nauegaron ſeys dias juntas: y a los ſiete les dio vna borruſca, que ſe aparto dellas el Patays, que era de cincuenta toneladas, y lleuaua venyte

Depósito legal: M. 9809-1958

Al pie de la segunda, tercera y cuarta páginas de la reproducción facsimilar aparecen los comentarios del señor Sanz que son como sigue:

a) **Desto de la China:** así comienza del autor de la carta, que entendía como todos sus contemporáneos, que la acción de España en aquellos apartados mares del Sur, no se limitaba a la posesión de unas islas, por ricas y dilatadas que fueran, sino que mas bien atendía a la conquista de una posición cercana al mayor imperio de la Tierra, el "Reino de la China", del que los nuestros tenían noticias ciertas, por las relaciones que desde 1555 circulaban impresas. Filipinas representó en el aparato estratégico combinado por España, lo que vale tanto como decir por Occidente, el hito adelantado de un afán, insistentemente franqueado: "la unidad política del mundo, previa la cristianización de Asia".

b) Bajo la égida de la metrópoli permaneció la Perla del Oriente (Filipinas) hasta que el último dominio de América pasó a regirse con independencia de la Madre Patria. Después ha mantenido también la virtud del castillo inexpugnable que siempre le ha caracterizado, como afirmaba recientemente el general McArthur ante la Cámara de representantes, reunidos en Congreso en la ciudad de Wáshington: "Una Nación Cristiana, Filipinas, se alza como poderoso baluarte de la cristianidad en el Extremo Oriente, y su capacidad para una alta dirección moral en Asia, no tiene límites.

c) Reproducción facsimilar del único ejemplar conocido, y según noticias fidedignas, probablemente perdido durante la última conflagración mundial. Gracias a la previsión de la libría de don Victoriano Suárez, que en 1905 mandó estampar quince copias en facsimil se ha conservado la reproducción del histórico impreso. Agradecemos a la firma Editorial y Librería Suárez, la gentileza de habernos facilitado el ejemplar, que nos ha servido de modelo.

Y para satisfacer a nuestros lectores nos permitimos dar la versión paleográfica del documento histórico, cuya reproducción facsimilar ha llegado a nuestra manos gracias al mable servicio que siempre nos ha brindado la Editorial y Librería Suárez, de Madrid.

VERSION PALEOGRAFICA

COPIA de una carta venida de Sevilla a Miguel Salvador Valencia. La cual narra el venturoso descubrimiento que los mexicanos han hecho, navegando con la armada que su Majestad mandó hacer en México. Con otras maravillosas, y de gran provecho para toda la Cristiandad: son dignas de ser vistas y leídas.

(En Barcelona, Per Pau Cortey, 1566)

Desto de la China ay dos relaciones, y es, que a los 17 de Noviembre de 1564, por mandato de su Magd. se hizo una armada en el puerto de la Natividad o la mar del Sur, cien leguas de México, de dos naves, y dos pataysos, para descubrir las islas de la especiería, que las llaman Philippinas, por nuestro Rey, costaron más de $600.000 de Atipusque hechas a la vela.

Partieron el dicho día del puerto, y navegaron 6 dias juntas, y a los 7 les dio una barrusca, que se aparto de ellas el Patays. que era de cincuenta toneladas, y llevaba 20 hombres: el cual navegó 50 días, y al fin de ellos, vio tierra, que eran muchas islas entre las cuales vio una mas grande, y allí surgió. Acudieron a la costa gente de la isla la cual es mas blanca que los indios nuestros: y las mujeres muy blancas que los hombres. Venían vestidos, así los hombres, como las mujeres de cosas de palma tejidas, y labradas encima con sedas de colores. Por gala, traen los dientes colorados, y horadados, y en los agujeros unos clavicos de oro, y los hombres con calzas de liézo de algodón con senojiles de seda, con muchas piezas de oro. Entre ellos vino que parecía de más calidad vestido todo de seda, con un alfanje, la empuñadura, y guarniciones de oro, y piedras. Los nuestros les pidieron mantenimiento, y dieronselos a trueque de brugeriás: pero ellos pidierón hierro y dióseles: y cuando vieron los clavos, no querían otro sino clavos, y estos pagaban con oro en polvo. Traían algunos unas dagas de asero (sic) muy galanas, y muestran ser gente política y de mucha razón. Usan de peso y medida; dieron a los nuestros gamos, puercos, gallinas, codornices, arroz, mijc, y pan de palmas: de todo esto ay grande abundancia. Estuvo allí el Patays casi 30 dias, esperando las otras naves, y como no vinieron, determinó de volver a México: y al tiempo que salio de la isla, encontró un junco, que es pavío de casi 100 toneladas, en la cual venían 60 indios, y como vieron el Patays, todos se echaron a nado y se fueron a la tierra, que estaba cerca. Entraron dentro algunos soldados, por mandato del capitán, y hallarón que iva cargado de porcellanas, y mantas, y liensos pintados, y otras cosas de la tierra, y algunos canutillos de oro molido, de los cuales no tomarón más que uno, y algunas porcellanas, y algunas mantas: y de lo demas, de todo poco, para traerlo por muestra. Estavo este Patays en ir y en volver, 230 días. Tubieron de menester subir mas de 40 grados hacia el Norte. Hubo despues desde el puerto donde de 50 días hallaron muchas islas, y partieron en algunas de ellas, y pasaron en cada una de ellas muchas cosas, que es tan grande la relación, que ocupa 20 pliegos de papel. En una aportaron a una isla grande que se llama lubu, y allí hicieron amistad con el rey de ella, que le hizo de esta manera. **Sacose** el rey sangre del pecho, y el capitan assí mismo, y echada la sangre de entreambos en una copa de vino la partierón por medio, y el uno vevío la mitad, y el otro la otra mitad: y aquello dicen que hace la amistad inviolable. Con todo esto tuvierón ciertas pasiones, y robarón una lugarejo: en casa pobre hallaron un niño Jesus, de estos que traen de Flandes, con su velo, y pomo en las mano, tan fresco como si se acabara de hacer entonces. En aquella isla quisieron poblar, por que es muy abundánte de todos los mantenimientos, y comensaron hacer un fuerte, y hicieron fuera de el una Iglesia, donde pusieron el niño Jesús, y lo llamarón del nombre de Jesús: la isla la llaman Sant Miguel, porque se entro en ella el día de su aparición. Y de allí a los Malucas dónde esta la especieria, ay cien y cincuenta leguas, y a la China doscientas, y a Malach quinientas leguas. Y hallarón allí canela finisima, que la hacían los de la isla traídos de los Malucas y gengibre, y cosas de seda galanas. Y de allí emviaron de las tres naves la capitana de México, donde llegó después que habia llegado el Patays y estaban aderesando otras dos naves para socorro. Hay muchas otras islas por aí muy grandes, y son del mismo modo de esta. Entre las otras hay una tiera tan rica de oro, que no lo estiman en nada; y hay tanta cantidad de canela que la queman en lugar de leña, es de tan lusida gente, que la igualan con España. Hay allí un rey que tiene a la continua mil hombres de guardia: y estimase tanto que ninguno de sus vasallos le vee la cara sino una vez en el año: y si le han de hablar para tratar con el algo, le hablan por una zerbatana, y cuando de año a ción facsimilar ha llegado a

Ambeth Ocampo

año se deja ver, le dan muy grandes riquezas. Son gente muy prima, hacen brocados y sedas tejidas de muchas maneras. Tienen en tan poco el oro, que dio este rey por un pretal de cascaveles, tres barchillas de oro en polvo: por que allí todo cuanto oro ay, es en polvo. Cargaron estas tres naves cuando tornaron tanta cantidad de oro en aquella isla, que monto el quinto que dan al rey un millón doscientos mil ducados. Andan por alta moros contratando con naves, y trocandos cosas de su tierra por oro, y mantas, y especieria, y por clavos y otras cosas. Encontro la armada con una nave de ellos y tomola, aunque se defendió de tal manera, que mato uno de ellos y hirieron mas de 20. Y traían muchas cosas de oro y mantas. y otras especierias que habían reseatado. Hay tantas islas que dicen que son setenta cinco mil ochocientas. En tantas isla de lubudo hacen población, es donde mataron a Magallanes, dicen, que los Portugueses con ciertas Caravelas aportaron por allí, harán dos años, llamandose Españoles, y vassallos del rey de Castilla, y robaron muchas islas, y las saquearon, y llevaron mucha gente cautiva, porque como veían que nuestra armada se hacia en la Nueva España, tomas sén los nuestros con los de la tierra mal credito: y así cuando los nuestros llegaron, pensando que eran ellos, huyan a los montes con sus joyas, y haciendas. Y se ha visto el general en harto trabajo por apaciguarlos, y darles entender que son ellos. y cierto debe ser hombre cuerdo, porque por la relación se vee haber tenido mucho sufrimiento, por no topar con ellos, y los ha llevado con mucho amor, sin hacer agravio a nadie. Ello es cosa grande. y de mucha importancia: y los de México están muy ufanos con su descubrimiento que tienen entendido que serán ellos el corazón del mundo. Trae en este navio de aviso que es venido ahora aca gengibre, canela, oro en polvo. una arroba de conchas riquissimas de oro, y blancas. joyas de oro, cera, y otras cosas para dar muestra de lo que en aquella tierra ay, y muchas brujerías, y otras cosas muy galanas. Y aunque no las trajeran, harto traían en haber descubierto y hallado la navegación aquellas partes, que es cosa de much calidad, con la flota sabremos mas, de lo que supiere avisare a V. M." &c.

# # #

You are the master of your own will, sir, and of your own future.

Jose Rizal

DON ADRIANO N. RIOS: ROMBLON'S PATRIARCH

by

GABRIEL F. FABELLA

Don Adriano N. Rios truly deserves the title of PATRIARCH of Romblon and father of his restored province. A self-made man, he never went beyond the elementary school but the services he rendered to the province of Romblon will forever remain a living monument appreciated and cherished by his grateful people. He is an inspiring example of a man who started out as a simple clerk and rose to become the first governor of the restored province of Romblon in 1918.

At the age of eighty, Don Adriano still finds time in taking active interest in the affairs of his province. Having served three regimes — the Spanish, Filipino and American — this old man has refrained from active politics since 1957, and yet, people, particularly provincial and municipal officials and political leaders, still flock to him seeking his valuable advice.

Don Adriano was born on September 8, 1880 in Pagalad (now San Fernando), Sibuyan island, province of Romblon. He was the last of eight children of Leonardo Rios and Juana Rosas Ramal whose ancestors were among the first migrants and pioneers of Sibuyan island. They came from the province of Aklan where most settlers of Romblon originally lived.

The childhood and education of Don Adriano were spent in Pagalad. Although his parents perceived the hidden talents of their son, they did not send him away to pursue higher studies in Manila. Like any other typical parents they feared for their child's safety in the city what with the difficulties of transpor-

---

This account is based on a series of interviews with Don Adriano N. Rios, and on a brief biography by Pacifico F. Mayor, former provincial secretary of Romblon, as revised by Romeo V. Cruz of the Department of History, University of the Philippines, and Gaudencio S. Fallarme II, of Concepcion, Romblon.

tation and occasional Moro depredations rendering travel unsafe.

His education started in 1888 in the parochial school under the supervision of the local parish priest. His teachers, Don Teodorico Dianco and Don Benito Borda, were the first Normal School graduates from Sibuyan island. At the age of twelve, the youthful Adriano had acquired sufficient knowledge of the Spanish Language of merit his first employment as clerk in the municipal government, and later in the Justice of the Peace Court.

From then on, Don Adriano's education was acquired through patient self-study. In a sense, therefore, it may be said that he is a self-made man. His contacts with his fellow employees who were mostly Spaniards and his fondness for Spanish literature and periodicals augumented his knowledge of the language. An adequate command of Spanish was then considered a "must" before any Filipino could be appointed to government offices and/or be included in the exclusive "principalia" class. Don Adriano was later on promoted as clerk in the provincial captal of Romblon under the Spanish "Comandante Politico-Militar."

In the eventful year of 1896 when Andres Bonifacio and his Katipuneros raised the standard of revolt against the corrupt Spanish regime, the sixteen-year old Adriano first heard of the execution of the country's greatest hero, Dr. Jose Rizal. His young mind awakened to the consciousness of the smouldering national sentiment against the Spaniards. To give vent to his hatred of Spanish oppression and as an expression of his patriotic aspirations, Don Adriano enlisted in the Katipunan ranks through an officemate, Higino Musico, the first Katipunero of Romblon, who was also charged with recruiting members for the noble plebian society.

Fighting, however, came much later in Romblon. This happened during the famous expedition of Gen. Mariano Riego de Dios and his staff composed of Maj. Pedro Aguinaldo, Captains Pablo Guevara and Wenceslao Tirona, Lieuts. Jose Angeles, Pedro Espada, Hermenegildo Aguinaldo and others aboard the battleship "Don Francisco" and "Bulusan." They bombarded the Spanish garrisons in Romblon and captured several Spaniards although a few of them succeeded in escaping to Iloilo aboard Don Pedro Sanz's family launch **Enriqueta.**

Upon occupation of Romblon, Gen. Riego de Dios proceeded with the organization of the municipal and provincial governments under the authority of the Revolutionary Government of Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo in Malolos, Bulacan. Don Wenceslao Molo was appointed governor of Romblon. Young Adriano, seeing the opporunity to serve his fatherland, joined the forces of Gen. Riego de Dios with the rank of Technical Sergeant attached to the main headquarters of the Filipino army with Don Pedro Sanz's house in San Fernando as headquarters.

Don Adrianoo did much to bolster the membership of the revolutionary forces by encouraging his townsmen to enlist. Among those were Jose S· Perez (later governor of Romblon), Nicolas Rosita, Genaro and Felix Rubas, Benito Rafol, Eustaquio Mangarin, Juan Bantigui, Vito Relos, Cipriano Rico and many others whose names he could no longer recall.

Sgt. Adriano Rios' first battle experience took place when he joined the expedition sent by Gen. Riego de Dios to capture Masbate where, unfortunately, the Filipino battleship **Bulusan** was sunk by the Spanish batteries in Palanog Bay. Fortunately for Sgt. Adriano Rios, he was not in that ill-fated boat. Later, after the successful occupation of Masbate, Sgt. Adriano Rios was ordered to return to San Fernando on a secret mission.

In November 1898, for his role in the Masbate expedition, Don Adriano was promoted to the rank of second lieutenant together with Eustaquio Mangarin and Gil Romero. They were assigned to the headquarters in San Fernando, Romblon under Captain Marcelo Lopez.

The arrival of Americal forces in Romblon in January, 1900 saw Lieut. Adriano Rios still serving the revolutionary army. Meanwhile, sensing the superiority of the American forces, the Filipino soldiers in Romblon decided to give up further resistance.

Peace and order were immediately restored and the Americans established the military government in the province. Schools were opened, employing the American soldiers as teachers. After a short period of military rule, civil government was re-established. This opened a new horizon for Don Adriano. Returning to San Fernando, he was able to serve as a school teacher in his hometown upon the recommendation of Governor Molo.

In the later part of 1900, the municipality of Azagra was transferred to the newly-created municipality of San Fernando (which used to be a barrio of Azagra) with Don Francisco Recto as the first elected **presidente** or town mayor. Don Adriano's experience and services came in good stead when he was appointed secretary-treasurer of San Fernando, Recognizing in Don Adriano a good and efficient public servant, the people of San Fernando elected him as their next **presidente.** He served in this capacity from 1904 to 1907. Due to a provision in Military Order No. 40, allowing an elective official to stay in office for only two terms, Don Adriano could not run for the next election but got reelected in the succeeding one in 1912. He was the town presidente up to 1918.

When the Civil Commission headed by the Hon. William H. Taft went to Romblon in the middle part of May, 1901 to organize the provincial and municipal governments, Don Adriano Rios was made spokesman by those agitating to make the town of Romblon the provincial capital. The people of the southern towns of Tablas island headed by Don Santiago Estudillo, Don Eugenio Festin and many others wanted the Taft Commission to implement the order of the Revolutionary government making the town of Looc, island of Tablas, the capital of Romblon province. The Commission, convinced by the arguments advanced by Don Adriano, decided in favor of his group. This decision was subsequently followed by the designation of Don Francisco Sanz as temporary provincial governor. It may be of interest to know that Don Francisco Sanz was a good friend of the then Secretary of the Interior, Dean C. Worcester.

In 1905 Don Bonifacio Marron was elected provincial governor by the municipal councilors of Romblon province. It was during Marron's incumbency that Romblon was fused with the province of Capiz as a sub-province. It is believed that it was the machination of Ex-Governor Francisco Sanz sanctioned by Sec. Worcester of the Interior that brought about this unfortunated political disgrace to the province of Romblon. Failing to get elected governor and sensing the futility of being voted assemblyman for the province of Romblon in the first Philippine Assembly, Don Francisco Sanz preferred Romblon to be a subprovince of Capiz that he might regain control of its affairs. As a result of this clever political maneuver, Don Francisco Sanz was designated Lieutenant Governor of the new subprovince.

Let us digress a while and recall that the political party in power at the time was the **Partido Progresista**, formerly known as the **Partido Federal**, under the presidency of Dr. Trinidad H. Pardo de Tavera. Most of the provincial officials elected to office in the country were members of the **Progresista** party to which Don Francisco and others belonged. The Progresistas did not favor immediate political independence. The young blood, however, joined the nationalist groups that advocated immediate independence. Don Adriano N. Rios was one among the latter aggrupation.

It was as **presidente** of San Fernando that Don Adriano performed great service to his province and his country in general. With the spirit of nationalism sweeping the country like wildfire, Don Adriano cast his lot with the **Nationalists.** In the early part of 1907, Don Adriano actively participated in the formation of the **Nacionalista** Party in Romblon together with Don Ignacio Molina, Alfredo Chanco and Casimiro Platon. The Nacionalista Party was under the supreme leadership of Sergio Osmeña, Manuel L. Quezon and other political stalwarts. While his role could not be compared to those of the national leaders, Don Adriano, nevertheless, is proud of his having contributed a humble share in the strengthening of the dominant party since 1907.

In the annual convention of municipal **presidentes** at Capiz (1914-1915), Don Adriano was elected Speaker (Chairman) by a large majority. He took advantage of this opportunity to introduce a resolution for the separation of Romblon from Capiz and its restoration as an independent province. This resolution was instrumental in the successful bid of Capiz Governor Jose Altavas for the Senate in 1916 resulting in his obtaining first place in the senatorial race for the seventh senatorial district comprosing of Capiz, Iloilo and Romblon, notwithstanding the presence of such political giants as Ruperto Montinola, Salvador Laguda and Francisco Villanueva in the race. Materially, it was the solid vote of the sub-province of Romblon that enabled Altavas to surpass all his opponents.

It was the same leadership of Don Adriano that helped Don Leonardo Festin to get elected Representative of the third district of Capiz to which the sub-province of Romblon was a part. Once elected, Don Leonardo Festin collaborated with Senator Altavas (who drafted the above mentioned resolution into a bill) in having the bill approved. Historically, the last Lieutenant Governor of the sub-province of Romblon was Don Pablo Mayor.

Upon the restoration of Romblon as an independent province on February 22, 1918, Municipal **Presidente** Adriano Rios of San Fernando was appointed governor. This was a fitting recognition of his dynamic leadership by Senator Jose Altavas and Rep. Leonardo Festin.

The appointment of Don Adriano Rios as first Governor in preference to Don Pablo Mayor, incumbent Lieutenant Governor, produced some bitterness on the part of the latter. In the long run, however, Don Pablo took it philosophically and acquiesced in the choice of his principal leader and "compadre," Don Adriano Rios.

In the gubernatorial election of 1919, Don Adriano vindicated himself when he was elected governor in his own right. It dispelled once and for all the skepticism of the doubting Thomases. In 1921, Don Adriano resigned his position partly in protest against the administration of the high-handed Governor-General Leonard Wood. In the same year, Don Adriano joined the Masonic organization and founded Marble Lodge No. 58, the first Masonic Lodge in the province of Romblon. In the following year (1922), he helped in the organization of Masonic Lodges in the provinces of Pampanga, Ilocos, Vigan, and Negros Occidental.

The three memorable years of Governor Rios at the provincial capital were rich with achievements. The following are the most noteworthy: (1) the promotion of water transportation facilities for the whole province by the purchase of steam launches such as the **S/B Molino** and the **S/B Oro**; (2) the survey and opening of the Kapaklan roads preparatory to the construction of a provincial capital and provincial jail buildings. (3) the planning and subsequent inauguration of road construction in Tablas, Romblon and Sibuyan; (4) the reopening of the provincial high school, and the opening of more barrio schools; (5) the success of the Liberty Loan Funds Campaign; and (6) the recruitment of youths for service in National Guards for which successes he received a commendation from the then Governor F. B. Harrison.

In spite of his resignation from active politics in 1921, the people of Romblon still clamored for his guidance, and so, they prevailed upon him to run for a seat in the municipal council of San Fernando. He ran for the council seat and won handily over his opponents.

In December 1941, when a state of emergency arose from the stranding of Mayor Pantaleon Besas in Manila, President Quezon immediately sent a wire to Governor Hernandez of Capiz to designate an acting mayor for the special municipality of Sibuyan. Once more Dan Adriano was called from his semi-retirement to act as mayor in the absence of Mr. Besas. Incidentally, the province of Romblon, for reasons which only the then Rep. Leonardo Festin knows, was converted a special province composed of four special municipalities each under an appointive Mayor. Under this arrangement, the special province of Romblon was under the remote control of the Department of Interior. When President Quezon landed at Iloilo preparatory to his submarine escape to Australia, he designated Governor Hernandez as Secretary of the Interior for the provinces of Antique, Romblon, Capiz and Iloilo, hence, the legal authority of Gov. Hernandez in appointing ex-Gov. Rios acting Mayor for the special municipality of Sibuyan.

As acting Mayor, Don Adriano proved equal to the challenge of service. To offset hunger and want which were becoming the lot of many towns during the time, Don Adriano launched a vigorous campaign for food production, poultry, piggery, fishing, and weaving abaca for clothing. Quick thinking and an ardent zeal on the part of Don Adriano prevented stortage of food and clothing in his municipality. Consequently, when Mayor Besas finally arrived, he found the municipality well-provided for, peaceful and orderly.

Even as a private citizen, Don Adriano displayed his natural wisdom and diplomacy with his tactful dealing with the members of the Japanese punitive expedition thereby mitigating the atrocities of the Japanese soldiers, this in spite of the secret presence of top men of the guerilla forces, wanted government officials of Capiz and some American evacuees in the island of Sibuyan. This is borne by the fact that the casualty rate in the island was very much lesser compared with those of Romblon and Tablas islands. Don Adriano considers this the most outstanding accomplishment of his entire career as a public servant.

Don Adriano's biography could not be considered complete without making mention of his accomplishments as a writer, poet, and dramatist. His dramatic adaptations of Aesop's fables "Bertoldo," "Bertoldino," and "Cacasino" were staged during town fiestas.

With the collaboration of Don Francisco Recto, Don Gregorio Ritual, and Don Apolinario Dianco, he translated some Tagalog **corridos** to Visayan dialogues for the "Moro-moro" or "comedias." Some of these were "Principe Juan Tiñoso," "Duque Florante," "Principe Igmidio," "Duque Crisario," "Pastora Criselda," and others

His "Catapusan Paalam", a translation of Dr. Jose Rizal's "Mi Ultimo Adios," won for him the second prize award in the **Makinaugalingon** contest held in Iloilo City in 1908.

He also wrote **coloquios** and **zarzuelas** like "Juan Jusong," "Ang Tatlong Cailo," "Si Tia Martina," "Gugma nang Maluib," and others.

As a writer in Spanish, he collaborated and contributed articles to such newspapers as **El Grito del Pueblo** known to be the first Spanish daily in Manila, subsequently in "**El Renacimiento, El Ideal, La Vanguardia, El Adalid, El Debate, Nueva Era, La Voz de Manila, El Tiempo** of Iloilo, **La Revolucion** of Cebu. He equally contributed to Visayan newspapers like **Makinaugalingon**, **Kapawa**, **Ro Akyanon**, **Bag-ong Iwag**, and **Bag-ong Tíon**.

Don Adriano married Doña Juliana Baranda y Rollon whose gentless, understanding, patience and industry, he recalls, inspired him to achieve success in all his public undertakings. Their children are Loreto, Noli, Isagani, Fili, Leonarda and Marcia.

Lately, Don Adriano has abstained from participating actively in politics. At present, he keeps himself busy taking long walks and visiting his farm and his six children one of whom is living in Quezon City. Thus, the Grand Patriarch of Romblon finally finds peace. But if in the future, crisis would again befall on the province, God willing, Don Adriano would probably be called again to guide with firm hands the province and its people.

# # #

Reverence for law as the expression of the popular will is the starting point in a democracy. The maintenance of peace and public order is the joint obligation of the government and the citizen.

Manuel L. Quezon

Many talk of liberty without understanding it; many believe that if they have liberty they have complete freedom to do the bad and good alike. Liberty is freedom to do right and never wrong; it is ever guided by reason and the upright and honorable conscience of the individual.

Apolinario Mabini

GREGORIO H. DEL PILAR

by

Dr. Sixto Y. Orosa

When the story book about General Gregorio H. del Pilar is written for school children to read, on one page will be etched with indelible letters his bravery, his military skill, his patriotism, and on the opposite page embossed in gold, his gallantry in peace and in war, his charming manners as a perfect gentleman.

The concluding chapter will inevitably include these words our hero himself wrote on the day he died:

> General Aguinaldo gave me a platoon of soldiers with which to defend Tirad Pass. I realize that it is a difficult task. And yet, I feel this is the most glorious moment of my life. All of this I do for my beloved country. There is no greater sacrifice.

And on his monument and in our hearts should be engraved the following: General Gregorio H. del Pilar, gentleman, soldier, Hero of Tirad Pass, whose patriotism, gallantry and nobility of character are worthy of emulation.

He was variously called by chroniclers and historians the "intrepid and valiant general," "the favorite hero of the Revolution," "a knight in armor who unsheathed his sword for the idol of his heart," "hero of his country," "martyr of loyalty to duty," "martyr of loyalty to his Chief," and "hero of love" — "because he knew how to gild or sweeten his rough life as a revolutionary with the sweetest, with the most romantic adventures of love." But as Don Teodoro Kalaw states, "be that as it may, his life is worthwhile narrating."

Don Rafael Palma confirms Kalaw's statement to the effect that Goyo's three outstanding traits were (1) personal valor, (2) loyalty to duty, and (3) gallantry to women.

Our hero was born in Bulacan, province of Bulacan, on November 14, 1875 or three years after the abortive Cavite uprising, when his native province was aflame with the spirit of nationalism and rebellion. He was of poor but illustrious parentage. Fernando, his father, was a brother of Marcelo H. del Pilar, the great propagandist of our pre-revolution era. From his mother, Felipa Sempio, who was part Chinese, he inherited his clear complexion.

Gregorio first went to a private school in his home town and later studied in the Ateneo de Manila (1887-1896), where he obtained on March 15, 1896, a Bachelor of Arts degree with fairly good grades, considering that he was a sort of working student. He got a grade of "excellent" in Arithmetic and Algebra. He was studying at the Ateneo when his uncle Marcelo stole a march on the persecution by the friars by leaving for Spain.*

In Manila he boarded with Deodato Arellano who was occupying one of the apartments on Elcano Street in Tondo where the organization of the Katipunan was first thought out. Deodato was his uncle-in-law, being married to one of Marcelo's sisters, and was in charge of spreading propaganda leaflets and books. He became the first president of the **Katipunan.**

Even as a young boy Gregorio gave signs of intelligence and reliability. It was he who actually distributed the propaganda materials **outside his class hours,** and this had to be done in absolute secrecy. He could not help but imbibe the prevailing ideas against injustice and be pervaded with nationalistic sentiments. He soon learned to overcome difficulties and avoid danger.

An Augustinian priest named Jose Rodriguez was then publishing pamphlets entitled "Questions of Great Interest," which prohibited among other things the reading of Rizal's "Noli" and similar works. As a counter-measure, the Filipino society named **Propaganda** published pamphlets containing such articles as "The Vision of Fray Rodriguez," "By Telephone," both by Rizal, and "**Dasalan at Toksohan,**" etc. by M. H. del Pilar.

---

* Before Marcelo's departure for Spain, he had already published many seditious articles in **Diariong Tagalog,** which he founded, and had already organized a society called "Propaganda." From Spain Marcelo continued to send propaganda leaflets and pamphlets and later copies of the **Noli** and **Fili** for Deodato Arellano to distribute.

Gregorio, aided by a group of youngsters succeeded in removing from the sacristy a big package containing many copies of the pamphlets being distributed by the priest. The idea of removing the cover of the religious propaganda pamphlets and of placing them on those being distributed clandestinely by the Filipinos occurred to Gregorio del Pilar. It was immediately approved by his friends.

The following Sunday, Father Felipe Garcia, who had persecuted Marcelo del Pilar until the latter had to leave for Spain, and who was in the habit of personally distributing Father Rodriguez's pamphlets, gave the Filipino propaganda pamphlets (with the misleading covers of those of Father Rodriguez) to the parishioners in the church. Gregorio knew that he had succeeded not only in preventing the distribution of the church pamphlets, but also in having Father Garcia distribute the revolutionary pamphlets himself. As Father Garcia was exhorting the churchgoers to read the pamphlets and to pass them on to others after reading, Gregorio was "dying of laughter."

Gregorio was the leader of the Bulacan youngsters who were learning practical lessons in patriotism from their elders. Goyo also changed the cover of the "Noli" and the "Fili" with that bearing the title "Political Economy" before distributing them.

Gregorio's resourcefulness stood him in good stead later in military strategy.

By August, 1896 the **Katipunan** was already in full activity in Bulacan, and Gregorio and his boyhood friends were soon identified with it. Induction rituals included the signing of their names with blood drawn from their arms. Because of the activities of the **Katipuneros** it was not possible for Gregorio to continue studying for the degree of Arts and Trades. Deodato Arellano, his uncle-in-law and landlord, was placed under arrest and was tortured, as were many others.

Fortunately for us, Gregorio wrote his **Memoirs**, dedicated to the **Katipunan**, beginning from December 24, 1896. In this historical document he states the reasons for his joining the revolution, thus:

> The ideal for which we sacrifice our life is noble and worthy, because its goal is liberty . . . We Filipinos must be ready to shed the last drop of our blood for the liberty of our country . . . I shall be happy to die for this cause because I love my country and for this love I accept what Destiny has in store for me.

In the town of Bulacan, while the Spaniards were celebrating the death in battle of his brother Anacleto with cries of **Viva Espana!** and the "March of Cadiz," the injustices he had read about in the pamphlets and books he was distributing were revived in his mind. In company with his older brother Julian, his brother-in-law Juan Socorro, and others, Gregorio went to the headquarters of Colonel Vicente Enriquez and said, "So my brother Anacleto died in a battle? Like him I shall also know how to die fighting for our country."

Right then and there he joined the forces of Maestrong Sebio, and with his companions "started fighting like lions."

Let us sample his memoirs.

December, 1896

> 25th — We are in Paliguid (Kakaron de Sili). We brothers were all there together. To commemorate the day of our Saviour, we hoisted our flag, fired our small pieces and glorified the K.K.K.
>
> In the afternoon, exercises with our weapons. Joy was evident in our faces. We seem to hear bursting from heaven the cry, "Long Live the Filipinos."
>
> 27th — In the afternoon we were gathered on top of the wide mountain near our barracks. We kissed our flag and again we swore before her that we are ready to die for our country.
>
> 28th — We are ready before daybreak. We saw a dove traversing the sky. We left early and when the sun was at the height of our eyes, we could see San Rafael. Upon entering the town our cannons fired with such fury I almost became deaf . . . . . , we heard terrible firing with rifles. They, our enemy, were fighting each other because they

> thought that the soldiers in the convent were of the K.
> One dead and five wounded on our side.
>
> I do not know how many Spaniards were killed; I was told their casualties reached forty.

On January 1, 1897, Gregorio had his first baptism of blood. The Spaniards had taken Kakaron de Sili, which had been strongly fortified by Maestrong Sebio, and celebrated their victory. The press featured the feat and predicted the early termination of the "insurrection." Goyo, his brother Julian and brother-in-law Socorro fought bravely. These three and seven others reconnoitered their trenches and found out they were the only ones left on the last unoccupied ridge. With their constant firing a breach was opened on the enemy lines through which they escaped.

When del Pilar was resting in a hut, an old woman noted that his forehead was bleeding from a Remington bullet which had grazed it. She took care of him. A bullet was incrusted in the butt end of his rifle. His other companions were wounded.

Because of the bravery Gregorio had shown in this battle he was promoted to Lieutenant. He and his soldiers went from one place to another — to Cavite, Montalban, etc., helping a detachment here, another there, often subsisting on charity.

One day a column of Spanish soldiers was leaving Malolos escorting a priest towards Malolos. Goyo volunteered to assault them alone. He went ahead of the rest and waited at the entrance of the village. The priest and the soldiers were in several carriages. He fired at the last carriage and saw a Spanish soldier with his Mauser fall from it. The rest, including the priest all jumped from the carriages and started running. Gregorio got the dead Spaniard's Mauser and pursued the fleeing. One of Goyo's dreams — to own a Mauser — was realized.

His companions joined him and found a shoe. They searched the last carriage looking for the other shoe and they had the surprise of their lives when instead, they found four sacks all filled with money in coins. They turned over the money to Gregorio who gave twenty five pesos (a big sum those days) to each unmarried soldier and fifty pesos to each married soldier. The rest he sent to Manila for the purchase of blankets and raincoats for all.

In the assault of Paombong, according to Ricarte, del Pilar's men were dressed as women with their daggers and boloes hidden in **balutans** simulating babies to be baptized. When the bell rang "Sanctus, Sanctus" they stabbed the Spanish soldiers in the church and in the convent simultaneously.

However, in his memoirs, del Pilar merely says that he entered the town at 1:00 a.m. and distributed his ten men in strategic places. He himself with an aide found an uninhabited house some 50 to 60 meters in front of the convent. The signal for readiness was the church bell announcing the mass. His men, well dressed for the church, walked one by one towards the church at about five-yards from each other in order not to call attention. As soon as one of del Pilar's men entered the door of the convent, del Pilar who was then at the plaza in front of the convent fired at the sentinel in the middle of the plaza. This was the signal for attack, and his men with their boloes assaulted the Spanish soldiers in the convent lying down near the armory. There was general panic, and the Spaniards took to flight without being able to take anything along with them. Del Pilar fired at the convent continuously to prevent the Spaniards from situating themselves at the windows. It took the Filipino soldiers three minutes to dispose of the Spaniards and three fourths of an hour to get thirteen Mauser rifles, and their cartridge belts from the bodies of the Spaniards.

The assault of Paombong enhanced del Pilar's prestige. In the words of the Bulakeños "A new star has risen in the Philippine firmament," and in those of General Artemio Ricarte, "Goyo's name was placed on the horns of the moon." To his prowess was attached a derivative of his name, "Pilarine." The Paombong feat was the talk in the province of Bulacan. His fame as a dashing valiant soldier was confirmed, and his entrance to Biak-na-Bato, the general headquarters of the revolutionists, was celebrated with joy by the older officials. Aguinaldo promoted del Pilar to the rank of Lt. Colonel, and from then on the former observed and followed closely the career of the brave and brilliant young officer.

Goyo was one of the signatories of the "Provisional Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines"—which was approved on November 1, 1897. Then the peace negotiations headed by Pedro Alejandro Paterno was already in progress, and as suggested by the Spanish Governor-General Primo de Rivera, the officials of the revolution were sent to Hongkong. Aguinaldo took Gregorio along with him.*

Aguinaldo and Goyo were to make a secret trip to Europe, but upon their arrival in Singapore American Consul Pratt informed them that America might have a war against Spain, and induced them to go back to Hongkong. In Singapore Goyo found his boyhood friend, Vicente Enriquez, who later joined the revolution as Goyo's aide-de-camp.

Because of the promises made by the Americans Aguinaldo decided to go back to the Philippines and fight Spain again. He arrived at Cavite in May, 1898, and proclaimed himself Dictator. He also appointed Gregorio del Pilar Dictator with the rank of General of the provinces of Bulacan and Nueva Ecija, the only appointment of its kind ever made by Aguinaldo.

With this appointment "all his boyhood dreams were eclipsed by this beautiful reality" to liberate his native province from the Spaniards and be the agent of Divine Providence to dispense justice to everyone, and administer a good, progressive government. Those close to him affirmed that while Goyo had a high sense of dignity he never was swell headed.

He arrived at Kay Luntaw at night on a **parao** carrying 500 Amber rifles, part of those purchased in China. The people were anxious to fight. All they needed were arms and their Chief, Goyo del Pilar. The best elements of the province joined his army which established its headquarters in barrio Matuñgao. That same night strategic places were occupied, and the siege started on June first. One by one the towns occupied by the Spaniards fell.

---

* Said the former, "He (del Pilar) was my man of confidence. Everything could be entrusted to him. That was why I always kept him by my side until he died." The other officers, too, held Gregorio in high esteem, so much so that on February 14, 1898 in the Filipino Revolutionary Junta, del Pilar held the highest position next to Tomas Mascardo.

On June 23rd the Spanish forces negotiated their surrender. On the following day (24th) the surrender was effected on the town plaza of Malolos. Arches were built and there was a great celebration. Everybody went to the plaza in a festive mood. Those who could not leave their houses which were all decorated with flags, because of illness, old age, or incapacity wept with joy. A hymn composed by Pedro Santos for the occasion was sung and shouts of "**Mabuhay**" to Goyo rent the skies.

The climax came when the Filipino soldiers led by del Pilar lined up on the plaza in front of the Spanish soldiers and viewed the Spanish flag hauled down and the Filipino flag hoisted. Del Pilar also demanded the surrender of the flag of the Fifth Spanish Batallion, which was done by the Spanish officers with tears in their eyes.

Goyo did not sleep on his laurels after the province of Bulacan was freed from the Spaniards. He reinforced his army and ordered Colonel Pablo Tekson to proceed to Nueva Ecija to similarly drive the Spaniards from there.

Shortly after Bulacan was retaken from the Spaniards, the siege of Manila started. This city was the only bastion still in the hands of the Spaniards. General Pantaleon Garcia, in charge of the siege, was wounded, and del Pilar took his place. The latter immediately pushed his lines to Caloocan and Vitas near La Loma. The Spaniards surrendered on August 13th, and so del Pilar occupied Juan Luna Street (then called Jolo) and Azcarraga up to the Church at Tondo. He could have gone on further if not for the wire received from Aguinaldo that there was an agreement with the American military officials that the Filipino soldiers should not go beyond the Juan Luna Bridge.

With the Philippine Revolution now emerging triumphant, there was general rejoicing. The municipal governments were rapidly organized. On September 9th, 1898, the Revolutionary government was transferred to Malolos, Bulacan and del Pilar was appointed Commanding General of the National Militia of the province.

On the 15th of the same month the Malolos Congress was inaugurated, and the ratification of Philippine Independence was effected on the 29th amidst solemn ceremonies. A grand parade was held on September 29, 1898, and Goyo was assigned to take charge of it. From Barasoain church where the Congress was convened to the Malolos convent where Aguinaldo presided, there was a military cordon on both sides of the street, between which Aguinaldo and his retinue of cabinet men, etc., were to pass. With General Isidro Torres on his right Aguinaldo reviewed the military parade from one of the windows of the convent. The parade was headed by the "gallant, youthful and charming figure" of General del Pilar.

Torres, noting that the soldiers upon passing in front of the President did not "present arms," but merely turned their faces to him, started making signs to them to do so (presumably against the orders of del Pilar). There was confusion. Del Pilar felt his dignity had been hurt. For him, according to military rules, the soldiers might not render two honors at the same time. Then, in the middle of the plaza, pulling himself erect on his white horse he addressed General Torres in a loud voice: "General Torres, where General del Pilar is in command, don't you give orders." Unfortunately, this incident had serious repercussions even in some phases of the conduct of the war.

The eruption of hostilities between the American and Filipino armies occurred on the fourth of February (1899) at about 9:00 p.m. Aguinaldo immediately decreed a state of war. That same night General Luna and his troops proceeded to La Loma to repair the Filipino columns dispersed the night before. In the ensuing battle Majors Torres and Evangelista were killed. Del Pilar's brigade was called urgently to aid in the defense of Caloocan.

There were enormous casualties on both sides in the battle of Caloocan. When del Pilar retreated he vowed, "I am going to meet that army again, with me in front of my brigade." That same night he regrouped his men and attacked the enemy, who were very much surprised.

Del Pilar went back to Bulacan to intercept the advancing enemy at Guiginto. At Kingwa there were two fierce encounters. In the second encounter American Colonel Stotsenberg was killed. Del Pilar's horse (on which he was mounted) was killed. After the encounters del Pilar said, "We can congratulate ourselves because we have offered heroic resistance thus far. I am contented with the bravery of my soldiers. However, I deeply lament the death of our valiant Captain Velilla."

The Filipinos were greatly outnumbered by the Americans who had better arms and more ammunitions. Del Pilar was very sad to have to retreat upon orders and leave his province, town by town, in the hands of the enemy. It was reported that in spite of the order of General Luna to burn the towns being left behind del Pilar managed to save the convents and churches for which he had a special respect.

Before retreating, a determined fight was offered, and in each, del Pilar took not only an active but an important and heroic part. In the battle of San Miguel, during which del Pilar headed 600 soldiers, the Americans characterized the fight offered by del Pilar's men as "gallant and intrepid." These encounters took place in April and May.

Mabini suggested the appointment of a commission to sue for an armistice or a suspension of the hostilities with the Schurman Commission which had already arrived here. Del Pilar was appointed member of the Philippine commission but it failed because General Otis demanded complete surrender, which General Luna opposed.

When the Paterno-Buencamino Cabinet went to power another peace commission was formed, and here del Pilar represented Aguinaldo and the military. This again shows Aguinaldo's complete confidence in the loyalty and ability of the young General, who also enjoyed the confidence of the other Filipinos officials, of the Spaniards, and the Americans, "because of his nobility of character and humanitarianism."

In this connection, it may be mentioned that in 1897, when del Pilar had under his control a part of Bulacan, a Spanish officer was deeply in love with a lady belonging to a distinguished family of Malolos. The Spaniard, Dr. Eugenio Hernando, used to visit the girl of his dreams at night. The Filipino soldiers thought it was a good opportunity to seize him, but when del Pilar knew of the plan, he not only stopped his soldiers but also allowed Dr. Hernando to continue making his visits under his protection.* Del Pilar also saw to it that the prisoners of war, both Spaniards and Americans, were treated with kindness and consideration.

The second peace commission had several conferences with the American officials but it also failed because Schurman wanted to see Aguinaldo personally and because Otis demanded the surrender of the Philippine Army. Through the negotiations conducted by del Pilar the Americans accorded the members of the Filipino Commission not only protection but also every courtesy. General Lawton considered del Pilar as the head of the Philippine Mission and preferred to deal with him as official correspondence would attest. In an official report to the War Department, Lawton referred to del Pilar as "the only worthy opponent." James A. LeRoy, very conservative and stingy when he judged the merits of the Filipinos during the Revolution, referred to del Pilar as "The youthful general; the popular young general; one of the idols of the revolutionary cause." A correspondent of the **Chicago Record** reported among other things, on del Pilar, thus: "He was a handsome young man, and fought only for high motives of justice, never for personal aggrandizement." Taylor who was to publish the most malicious and disparaging book on the Revolution, comparing ours with the French stated, "Aguinaldo was an Asiatic Robespierre, Luna was a Malay Danton, Mabini a Malay Couthon, while in the young general. Gregorio del Pilar, it is possible to again see St. Just." St. Just was known in the French Revolution as "a mature man of the State, fanatically valiant, for his loyalty to his Chief, Robespierre, for his elegant dress and for his distinguished manners."

After the unsuccessful peace conferences del Pilar was summoned to meet Aguinaldo at San Isidro (Nueva Ecija) where three thousand soldiers were gathered. Kalaw attests to his having seen written orders "to capture Luna dead or alive, having been accused of high treason." For this purpose del

---

* Dr. Hernando eventually married the girl, and later became Chief, Division of Sanitation of the City of Manila of the Bureau of Health. The writer was then chief of the Division of Hospitals, Dispensaries and Laboratories of the same Bureau. Our offices were adjoining each other, and I can affirm that Dr. Hernando was a better Filipino than many Filipinos. According to my personal information he joined the Revolutionary Army as one of the aides to General Luna.

Pilar proceeded to Bamban and Mabalacat, but he did not have to "capture" Luna because the latter had been "murdered" at Cabanatuan where he had been ordered to proceed by Aguinaldo.

Then del Pilar was ordered to proceed to Bautista, Pangasinan, the former headquarters of Luna, to hunt for the latter's followers, disloyal to Aguinaldo. From Bautista, del Pilar proceeded to Dagupan where he was appointed Commanding Ge-eral of the Province. Goyo remained in Dagupan from June to November, 1899, during which time fighting with the Americans was only occasional and desultory and our youthful general had plenty of time to dig trenches and inspect his men who were distributed in different parts of the province.

Because of his relatively quite life in Pangasinan, he had more time to devote to the affairs of the heart in order to "sweeten" the rigors of his strenuous military life. "He made love openly, almost without misgiving."

Goyo was handsome, with clear complexion, and was well-built although rather slender. He dressed elegantly, had engaging charming manners, was romantically inclined, and was extremely popular with the ladies wherever he was. As in Bulacan, the letters he received from them were invariably perfumed.

Let us reproduce two letters:

> *From Goyo:* August 18th-(1899) I received the amulet you sent me, which will save me from all peril. To reciprocate, I am sending you a better amulet, because it cures empty stomachs and that is what you will receive from the messenger in two small boxes.
>
> *From a distinguished lady:* October 9th — I beg you to tell me something, although I know you no longer remember me Tell me anything because you know that I believe everything you tell me. I am very grateful because you announced you would not break our engagement. I trust you and I do not believe the gossip from the people.

Del Pilar wrote in Spanish, and according to Kalaw, who was one of our masters in this language, del Pilar's style was literary, passionate, languid, charming and sweet.

If del Pilar was a good lover, he was also a good brother and a good son. When he was in Hongkong he sent his picture to his sister Paz, with this dedication: "From Gregorio, who is now far away."

We cull from his memoirs:

> January 4, 1897 — Early in the morning I loiter near the spring, and contemplate the running rivulet, which is enchanting; I talk to it, and ask it for the fate of my parents, my sisters and my brothers, whom I left at home, and whose memory I treasure in my heart. But — the rivulet is after all mute! — its only answer is the gushing of its waves which fight their way downwards.

Del Pilar was also a good disciplinarian. He even subjected to discipline his brothers and relatives who happened to be in his army. His letters to General Aguinaldo on discipline are considered model.

One of his brothers then at Bulacan visited Goyo at Dagupan, and the latter confided to him, "Kuyang, big battles are coming as the Americans have started the offensive. I will not evade my duty. And as the enemy is numerous and strong, I shall fight till the end. Tell our parents they could expect me to die not long from now."

An American division succeeded in landing at San Fabian, and del Pilar had started fighting them when he was suddenly called by Aguinaldo to meet him at Sta. Barbara. That was in November, 1899. Tarlac, the last revolutionary capital had fallen, and at Bayambang the Revolutionary Junta was assembled to decide on the dispersion of the army in order to fight a guerrilla warfare. To this del Pilar objected, because he was still optimistic, but upon the insistence of Aguinaldo he had to acquiesce.

Del Pilar, as the most trusted and most loyal of the officers. with two thousand men protected Aguinaldo's retreat. The enemy was now in hot pursuit. General Young received orders to intercept General Tinio's army to prevent it from joining del Pilar's.

Aguinaldo's retinue included his mother, his wife and his son, with the rear guard under the command of Col. Montenegro, and himself with his wife and sister with the vanguard headed by del Pilar. The trek from Bautista to Palanan was fatiguing and painful. Only occasionally could they have a square meal. Del Pilar was the only one who knew Aguinaldo's plans.

At this junction, let us quote President Osmeña:

> From Bautista, Aguinaldo proceeded to Sta. Barbara. where he was met by General Gregorio del Pilar, and continued to Manaoag. Before reaching Pozorrubio, an American column, under General Young, attempted to intercept Aguinaldo, but without success.., and the latter was able to move forward to the North. But the American column succeeded in dispersing General Aguinaldo's rearguard, and Ilagan, De las Alas, Gerona, and I had to run in all directions to escape capture. The Americans succeeded in capturing an important group composed of the mother, wife, and son of Aguinaldo and Secretary Buencamino, who was accompanying them. (Osmeña, then a newspaperman, wanted to join Aguinaldo but failed) . . . .
>
> When at the end of November (1899) Aguinaldo reached Ilocos Sur, he felt the pressure of Major March's battalion of the 33rd Infantry belonging to the forces of General Young, which were in in hot pursuit of his group. General del Pilar, now the commander of Aguinaldo's rear guard, proposed that Major March be stopped through a delaying action, which would give time to General Aguinaldo to retreat northward to safety, and this daring proposition met with the approval of General Aguinaldo.

At Ariñgay del Pilar and his men spent the night at the convent, where he exhorted them, "Brothers, what do you prefer: to die fighting or to die running away like cowards?" As one man the soldiers answered, "We want to die fighting."

On November 22nd Gregorio climbed Mount Tirad, 4,500 feet above sea-level, got off his horse, rested on the stones on the edge of the path, and afterwards studied the strategic position of the place. He then happily told his men, "The Americans could never take this pass and if they do, it will be over my dead body."

Among the officers who carried out the digging of the trenches across all the paths where the Americans might pass was his brother Juan who had the rank of captain. Del Pilar posted three soldiers in each trench. Angake, below Mt. Tirad, was strongly fortified.

On November 30th Gregorio went to Cervantes where he met Aguinaldo for the last time. The latter at first tried to dissuade the former from taking part in the battle of Tirad, but del Pilar insisted on his leading the defense personally.

He returned to Angake past noontime and spent the night on top of Mt. Tirad.

Early in the morning of December 2nd, he heard firing from Concepcion. His aide, Vicente Enriquez, after making a reconnaissance, informed Gregorio that according to the latter's brother the Filipino soldiers had resisted heroically the advance of the American Cavalry, and that these had abandoned their horses to continue advancing on foot. Enriquez then inspected the top of a hill where twelve soldiers were posted. He was told that their position was impregnable and they could damage the Americans even by rolling boulders over them. He was satisfied that their position was strong, and that their soldiers could hold out indefinitely. Del Pilar had sixty soldiers against one thousand of Major March which number was later reinforced.

Tirad Pass is surrounded by hills and the Filipinos under the direction of del Pilar had dug trenches on them. Gregorio went from trench to trench exorting his men to fight bravely.

According to Enriquez, he went back to the hill where he left del Pilar, and the young general was elated by the fact that his soldiers could shoot from a vantage point on hill-tops. The two hurried to the trenches higher up, where they heard fresh firing. Del Pilar was straining his eyes to the cogon leaves which were moving irregularly, as he was suspecting there were American soldiers hidden there.

As he was about to mount his **rosello** (pinkish white horse which incidently was loaned to him by Aguinaldo), he was hit by a bullet from behind, at the nape of his neck, just below the level of his mouth.

He covered his face with his hands, fell on his back and died instantly. The foregoing account was given by Vicente Enriquez, an eyewitness. It was evident that del Pilar was outflanked, in the words of Osmeña, and this was accomplished by the Americans with the aid of "spy-guides" of Macabebe from Pampanga who were paid one dollar and fifty cents ($1.50) per day to betray del Pilar. They had shown the enemies a little known path through which they reached Tirad Pass from behind. As already hinted Del Pilar and his men fought bravely and out of his sixty soldiers who defended the Pass fifty-three died (including himself).

At Tirad Pass del Pilar was elegantly dressed in a new khaki uniform, and as in the case of Christ whose executioners partitioned his robe among themselves, the Americans despoiled del Pilar's bleeding body completely, one getting his diamond ring, others the three medallions hanging on a gold necklace around his neck, still others, his shoulder knots, his boots, his memoirs, his field glasses, his buttons, his coat, his trousers, etc. Two silk handkerchiefs were retrieved from his pockets.

> Let us quote Osmeña again: With the sacrifice gallantly made by General del Pilar to provide safety for his Chief, Aguinaldo was able to reach, unobstructed, the farthest northern portion of the Philippines, establishing there his hideout where he enjoyed a respite of more than a year. On March 23, 1901, Colonel Funston reached Palanan, Isabela, invaded the headquarters of Aguinaldo and captured him." (The capture was effected through a ruse with the help of Macabebes from Pampanga.)

According to Kalaw, General Gregorio del Pilar became better known because of the accounts of two American war correspondents who accompanied Major March (John McCutcheon and Richard Henry Little) — more so than from the accounts of local chroniclers, including the eyewitnesses of the "extraordinary battle (of Tirad Pass) which covered our hero with glory."

One American account reads thus:

> The body of General del Pilar was found where he fell. His face expressed the idea of an order, or of a supreme wish

> immediately interrupted. One of his hands was over his heart (from which blood was flowing — he had been previously wounded) and from this hand dangled a silk handkerchief on which was embroidered the name of his sweetheart. That del Pilar fought until his last hour may be gleamed from his memoirs... The last lines bearing the date of December 2nd, written on the field of battle, moments before he died states, *"I resign to the terrible fate which overcomes me and my valiant soldiers; but I am happy to die fighting for my beloved country."*

The Americans felt that it behooved them not to publish the lady's name embroidered on the handkerchief. However, many suspected she was Aguinaldo's younger sister.

The two American war correspondents were both eyewitnesses to the gallant and heroic death of General del Pilar. Both gave glowing reports about his bravery. Richard Henry Little wrote thus:

> It was a battle above the clouds. I saw the youngest and the bravest of the Filipino Generals vainly trying to align his men to detain the American forces who were pursuing them, to protect Aguinaldo's retreat. I saw him arraign his soldiers from trench to trench, excite their *amor propio* to ponder their valor and love of country, mount his white horse in the midst of bullets from our Krag rifles. Then I saw one of our soldiers below, turn his way, climb a rock and aim his rifle at General del Pilar. We held our breath, not knowing whether to pray God that the soldier hit or miss his mark.
>
> ... Then we despoiled him. I thought we had despoiled del Pilar with everything, but no, I was mistaken; his glory as a soldier remained. (From the *Chicago Tribune*).

Shortly after the debacle at Tirad Pass, General Aguinaldo wrote to Major March requesting that his family, men and women and their retinue be given safe passage to Manila. Not only did Major March assent, but he also accompanied Aguinaldo's family himself along the way. A charming and distinguished lady whose name was embroidered on the kerchief recovered from del Pilar's breast, upon being shown the grave of the young General, got off her horse, knelt on the rock, and prayed for one hour. Her aide, Jose Enriquez, one of Aguinaldo's trusted men, remarked: "We were 4,500 feet above sea level, and we felt we could touch Heaven with our prayers."

Our hero had rendered our country a great service. We owe a great deal to him. Before the Americans had met our young general their concept of our soldier were that they were a bunch of brigands or a group of organized highwaymen. After meeting del Pilar in the abortive peace conferences and more particularly in war, they changed their minds. General Arthur MacArthur officially reported to the U.S. Senate that the uprising against America was not confined in certain places. but was general all over the Philippines. General Lawton made this official report: "Taking into account the disadvantages they have to fight against in arms, equipment, and military discipline without arms. short of ammunitions, powder inferior, shells reloaded until they are defective, inferior in every particular of equipment and supplies, they are bravest men I have ever seen . . These men are indomitable."

The epitaph on the stone marker placed by Major March's soldiers on the site where del Pilar fell, is a fitting **finis** to the concluding chapter of Gregorio Del Pilar's story-book:

GENERAL GREGORIO DEL PILAR
KILLED
AT THE BATTLE OF TILA PASS
DECEMBER 2, 1899
COMMANDING AGUINALDO'S REAR GUARD
AN OFFICER AND A GENTLEMAN.

Thus lived and died Gregorio H. del Pilar, Filipino patriot and hero, gallant in war and peace, martyr to duty and martyr to loyalty, soldier, friend, and gentleman.

Bibliography:

1. Gregorio H. del Pilar (The Hero of Tirad)
   By Teodoro M. Kalaw (Original in Spanish)
2. Historical Bulletin, Vol. III, No. 1. March, 1959
3. Pictorial History of the Philippines.

MGA PANGYAYARI SA BUHAY NI ANDRES BONIFACIO*

Sinulat ni Leopoldo R. Serrano

Itinuturing kong isang dakilang karangalan ang pagbibigay sa akin ng pagkakataong makapagsalita sa harap ng mga piling kasapi ng makabayan at bantog na "Kapatirang Alagad ni Bonifacio, Inc." Ayon sa liham na ipinadala sa akin ng kaibigang Exequiel Villacorta, ang simpatiko at masipag na kalihim ng inyong Kapatiran, noong ika-12 ng buwang ito, ako raw ay "isa sa mga nagsaliksik tungkol sa buhay at nagawa ng ating Bayaning Bonifacio." At noong kami'y magkausap sa kanyang tanggapan sa Abenida Rizal ay hiniling niya sa akin na isalaysay ko ang ilang mga pangyayari sa buhay ng dakilang Supremo ng Katipunan bago sumiklab ang Himagsikan dito sa ating bayan.

Totoo nga naman at di matututulan ninuman na dahop ang kaalaman ng marami sa ating mga kababayan tungkol sa kanyang buhay, mula sa kanyang kapanganakan noong ika-30 ng Nobyembre, 1863 hanggang ipahayag niya ang pagsisimula ng Himagsikan sa Balintawak, Kalookan, noong ika-26 ng Agosto, 1896, Di gaya ni Dr. Jose Rizal, wala siyang iniwang mga talang pang-araw-araw ng kanyang mga ginawa o nasaksihang pangyayari sa kanyang buhay. Kakaunti rin ang kanyang mga kasulatang titik niya na naiwan sa atin, at ang mga iyo'y nauukol lamang sa Katipunan o nagdaang Himagsikan.

Subali't ayokong biguin ang pag-asa at pagtitiwala sa akin ng mahal na kaibigang Villacorta at ng mga ilan pang nakikinig sa akin ngayon, na marahil ay nakabasa ng mga lathalain kong lumabas sa mga magasin at pahayagan sa Maynila, lalo na yaong may-kaugnayan sa buhay ng ating mga bayani.

---

* This address was delivered on November 30, 1958 during the symposium on the life and labors of Andres Bonifacio under the auspices of the "Kapatirang Alagad ni Bonifacio." It was held at Jack's Place, on the Bonifacio Rotonda, Caloocan Rizal.

Ang unang babanggitin ko sa inyo ay ang pagkakaroon ni Andres Bonifacio ng dugong banyaga o Kastila, gaya rin naman ng marami sa mga bayani ng ating lahi na nanguna sa kilusan sa sikularisasiyon ng simbahang katoliko dito sa ating bayan, sa kilusan sa pagpapalaganap ng tunay na kalagayan at karaingán ng ating bayan (propaganda movement), at sa Himagsikang Pilipino, gaya nina Padre Pelaez, Padre Burgos, Dr. Rizal, Heneral Aguinaldo, at iba pa.

Ayon sa aklat na may bilang 9 ng mga ikinasal sa simbahan ng Tundo, Maynila, ang mga magulang ni Andres Bonifacio ay ikinasal sa nasabing simbahan noong ika-23 ng Enero ng taong 1863. Ang pangalan ng kanyang ama ay Santiago Bonifacio at siya'y taga-Tondo, Maynila. Ang kanyang ina naman ay si Catalina de Castro, isang mestisang Kastila na ipinanganak sa lalawigan ng Sambales.

Isinilang si Bonifacio sa pook na tinitirhan ng mga maralita o pangkaraniwang mamamayan. Lumaki siya na ang kanyang paligid ay walang masasabing katangian maliban sa karalitaan, pananalat, at karumihan, ayon sa isang litaw na mananalaysay.

Mayroon si Bonifacio na tatlong kapatid na lalaki at dalawang kapatid na babae. Ang mga kapatid niyang lalaki ay nagngangalang Ciriaco, Procopio, at Troadio. Ang mga kapatid naman niyang babae ay sina Espiridiona at Maxima. Si Andres ang pinakamatanda sa pitong magkakapatid, kaya't nang sila'y maulila sa kanilang mga magulang noong si Andres ay tumutuntong pa lamang sa gulang na labing-apat na taon, siya na ang naging puno ng sambahayan (**padre de familia**). Samakatwid, noong hindi pa halos matatawag na binatilyo si Andres ay nagkaroon na siya ng mabigat na pananagutan: ang buhayin at palakihin, sa isang wastong paraan, ang kanyang mga kapatid na naiwanan sa kanya ng kanyang mga magulang.

Bagaman isinilang siya sa gitna ng karalitaan, di naman nagpabaya ang kanyang mga mahal na magulang na siya'y papag-aralin. Tungkol sa kanyang pinasukang paaralan o natapos sa kanyang pag-aaral, may iba't ibang palagay ang ilang mga tao na may kaalaman o nagsaliksik tungkol sa bagay na ito. Ayon sa kanyang kapatid na si Espiridiona, siya'y nagaral sa paaralan ng isang ginoong nagngangalang Serrano. Maari kayang ang tinutukoy ni Espiridiona ay ang paaralan sa Binondo ni G. Pedro

Serrano — Laktaw? Ayon naman kay Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, kilalang mananalaysay ng ating bayan, doon sa paaralan ni G. Guillermo Osmeña, isang gurong taga-Sugpu, pumasok si Andres. Ganito rin ang paniniwala ni G. Teodoro A. Agoncillo, ang mag-akda ng kasaysayan ng buhay ni Bonifacio na may pamagat na **The Revolt of the Masses.** Ang nasabing paaralan ay nasa Meisik, Maynila. Sinabi pa rin ni G. Agoncillo na si Andres ay sa mababang paaralan (**escuela elemental**) lamang nakapag-aral, dahil sa sunod na pagkamatay ng kanyang ina at ama. Subali't may iba namang palagay si Dr. Pio Valenzuela, isa sa mga haligi ng Katipunan at kasama at kumpare pa ni Bonifacio. Ayon kay Dr. Valenzuela, si Andres ay umabot sa ikatlong baitang ng **segunda enseñanza** o mataas na paaralang pribado, na kung tawagin ay Latinidad. At noong panahong iyon ay mayroong tatlong gayong paaralan sa Tundo.

Ayon naman sa yumaong si G. Jose Lopez del Castillo y Kabangis, naging punong mananaliksik ng Kawanihan ng mga Aklatang Bayan, si Andres ay nag-aral sa paaralan ni Epifanio del Castillo, na balita sa tawag na Maestrong Paño at itinuturing na **Decano de los Maestros de Primera Enseñanza de Filipinas** sa Tundo. Ang kanyang paaralan ay naroroon sa Daang Ilaya at malapit sa Plasa Leon XIII, at kilala sa pangalang **Primera Escuela Primaria de Niños de Tondo.** Ibinatay ni G. Jose Lopez del Castillo y Kabangis, na anak ni Maestrong Paño, ang kanyang paniniwala na si Bonifacio ay sa paaralan ng kanyang ama nag-aral sa isang nilagdaan at sinumpang pahayag ni G. Urbano Cruz, madalas tagurian si Bonifacio ng mga katipunero na "Bata ni Maestrong Paño."

Kung **primera enseñanza** lamang ang natapos ni Bonifacio, magiging sapat na ba iyon upang siya'y makapagsalita ng wikang Kastila? May tatlong lalaking naging kilala sa Tundo ang nag-aral sa paaralan ni Maestrong Paño: Si Timoteo Paez, kaibigan ni Dr. Rizal, si Nicolas Zamora, taga-pagtatag ng **Iglesia Evangélica Metodista en las Islas Filipinas**, at si Moises Buzon, taga-pagtatag ng **Iglesia Evangelica Unida de Cristo.** Ang mga lalaking ito'y naging mahusay sa pagsasalita ng Kastila.

Naragdagan ang karunungan ni Bonifacio at ang kanyang kaalaman sa wikang Kastila sa pamamagitan ng pagkakaroon niya ng mga mabuting aklat at ng matiyagang pagbabasa niya ng mga iyon kung gabi. Ang mga aklat niyang laging binabasa ay ang mga sumusunod: **La Historia de la Revolucion Francesa, Noli Me Tangere, El Filibusterismo, Les Miserables, Indio Errante, Las Ruinas de Palmira, Ang Biblia, Batas Pangdaigdig, Kodigo Penal at Sibil, Buhay ng mga Pangulo ng Estados Unidos**, mga nobela ni Dumas, at ilang libro ng panggagamot. Ayon kay Espiridiona, ang mga aklat sa batas na kanyang binabasa ay pagaari ni Emilio Jacinto, at ang mga aklat naman sa panggagamot ay kay Dr. Pio Valenzuela.

Totoong mahilig si Bonifacio sa pagbabasa, ayon kay Espiridiona na kung tawagin niya ay Nonay. Naging kaugalian niya ang magbasa ng mga aklat kung gabi, at, ayon naman kay Dr. Valenzuela, madalas na hindi siya natutulog dahil sa pagnanais niyang mabasa ang kanyang mga aklat. Samakatwid, sa pamamagitan ng pagbabasa niya ng mga aklat na nasusulat sa wikang Kastila, nagagawa niya ang pagtuturo sa sarili at pagdadagdag sa kanyang kaalaman sa matamis na wika ni Cervantes, anupa't naisalin niya sa Pilipino ang **Ultimo Adios** ni Dr. Rizal. Hangga ngayo'y hinahangaan ng mga mananagalog ang gayong pagkakasalin.

Ang kanyang mga aklat ay nilamon ng apoy nang masunog ang kanyang bahay samantalang siya'y nasa Kabite at pinalalaganap ang Katipunan. Dahil sa kasakunang iyon, nagkapalipat-lipat silang mag-asawa ng tahanan. Ayon kay Wenceslao E. Retana, ang mga kasulatan niyang pangsarili ay iniingatan, niya sa bodega ng **Fresell and Company.** At ang mga kasulatang yoo'y sinamsam ng **Guardia Civil Veterana** ng Maynila nang matuklasan na ang Katipunan.

Nang ang magkakapatid ay maagang maiwanan ng kanilang mapag-arugang magulang, paano sila nabuhay sa ilalim ng pag-aaruga ni Andres, na noo'y may gulang lamang na labingapat na taon? Pinanghinaan ba ng loob si Andres? Naging mainam kaya ang kanilang pagsusunuran at ang kanilang bagong paraan ng pamumuhay?

Agad umisip si Bonifacio ng paraan ng pagkita ng sapat na magugugol upang sila'y mabuhay. Gumagawa siya ng mga baston at mga abanikong papel na kanyang ipinagbibili pagkatapos mayari ang mga iyon sa tulong ng kanyang mga kapatid. Sa paggawa ng mga baston at abaniko, ayon kay Espiridiona, si

Andres ang pinakakapatas o tagapagturo. Nakahilera ang mga magkakapatid, samantalang sila'y gumagawa. Kung hindi tumpak ang paggawa o pagkayari, halimbawa ng isang abaniko, ay itinuturo ni Andres ang paraan ng paggupit ng papel o paglapat o pagdikit sa kinayas na kawayan upang maging maganda ang abaniko kung mayari. Minsan ay napagsalitaan niya si Ciriaco, sapagka't nagalit ito at pinagsira-sira ang ilang yaring abaniko dahil sa ginawang panunukso sa kanya ni Nonay. Tinutulungan din sila ng kanilang Manong Andres sa paglalako ng mga nayaring baston at abaniko pagdating niya mula sa bahay-kalakal na pinapasukan niya. Kahit na mababa ang pinag-aralan ni Bonifacio, mayroon siyang dalawang katangian na nakatutulong sa kanilang hanap-buhay: ang kahusayan niya sa pagsulat at paggawa ng mga kagamitan sa tahanan. Nakagagawa siya ng mga paskel para sa mga bahay-kalakal. Nilalagyan niya ng magagandang dibuho, na may iba't ibang kulay at anyo, ang nayayari nilang baston at abaniko. Ang baston ay yari sa palasan. Nang marami nang makagugusto sa kanilang mga ipinagbibiling baston at abaniko, pinayagan niyang pati ng ilang kababata nilang kapit-bahay ay tumulong sa kanila at kumita ng salapi.

Lumalaki sila ay lumalaki naman ang gastos sa bahay nila kaya't napilitan ang mga lalaki ng sambahayan ni Bonifacio na humanap ng ibang gawain sa labas ng tahanan. Pumasok si Bonifacio na isang kawani o mensahero sa **Fleming and Company.** Naging bantay siya pagkatapos ng bodega ng **Fresell and Company.** Ang dalawang samahang ito sa pangangalakal ay pagaari ng mga Ingles. Nang magsimula ang Himagsikan ay naglilingkod pa rin si Bonifacio sa **Fresell and Company.** Hindi lamang siya mensahero ng **Fleming and Company,** kundi ahente pa rin ng mga bagay na ipinagbibili ng nasabing bahay-kalakal.

Tungkol sa kanyang paglilingkod sa dalawang nabanggit na bahay-kalakal, ganito ang sinabi ng kilalang mananalaysay na si Austin Craig:

> Siya (si Bonifacio) ay tapat, mag-kakayahan, matalino, mahusay na sumulat, at masunuring manggagawa. Dahil sa mga ito, nakamtan niya at ginampanan ang isang may-pananagutang puwesto sa isang samahang pag-aari ng taga-ibang lupa, na doo'y siya'y tagapagbantay ng bodega at kawani sa pagpapa-

dala ng mga kalakal, at ligtas siya sa mga pahamak ng maraming mga Kastilang nangangasiwa sa mga gawain, bagay na nakapagpapahina ng loob sa anumang paghahangad ng mga Pilipino tungkol sa pangunguna o pagkakaroon ng mga mabubuting hangarin. Si Bonifacio ay nagkaroon ng maraming kakilalang mga taga-Ibang lupa na ang mga ito'y nakasundo niya dahil sa kanyang kakayahan sa pangangalakal, at mula sa kanyang mgá kababayan naman ay nagkaroon siya ng mabuting pagtingin at pagkakatanyag.

Dahil sa lumapad ang papel ni Bonifacio, gawa ng kanyang mabuting panunungkulan sa **Fresell and Company**, nangyaring ang kanyang dalawang kapatid na lalaki ay napasok upang maglingkod sa Perokaril. Bago nangyari ang himagsikan, si Ciriaco, na siyang sumunod kay Andres, ay naging konduktor ng tren. Si Procopio naman ay naging paktor sa himpilin sa Tutuban.

Nang sumapit si Bonifacio sa katamtamang gulang upang, wika nga'y, lumagay na siya sa tahimik, lumigaw siya sa isang dilag na kapit-bahay niya, na nangangalang Monica (Dorotea Tayson ayon kay G. Jose P. Santos). At siya ang naging unang asawa niya. Nguni't pagkaraan ng mahigit na isang taon ay namatay ang babaing ito sa sakit na ketong. Alam na natin na muling nag-asawa siya, at ang babaing naging ikalawang asawa niya ay si Gregoria de Jesus, anak ni Nicolas de Jesus. na naging gubernadorsilyo ng Kalookan. Ikinasal sila noong 1892 at nagkaroon sila ng isang anak na lalaki, na Andres din ang pangalan, na di nagtagal ang buhay at namatay sa sakit na bulutong. Bininyagan ang batang ito sa katedral sa loob ng Maynila noong 1895 at ang nag-anak ay si Dr. Valenzuela.

Ganito ang pagkakalarawan ni Heneral Santiago Alvarez sa bahay na tinirhan ng magasawang ito.

"Ang bahay na tinitirahan ng Supremo Andres Bonifacio, na takda ang palarindingan at pawid ang bubong, kainaman ang laki bagaman mababa ang silong na nakatayo sa nayon ng San Ignacio o Bambang, ng daang Serbantes (Ngayo'y Abenida Rizal)." Ang nasabing bahay ay nasunog noong ika-9 ng Abril ng taong 1896.

Sa lahat ng mga isinulat ni Bonifacio ay Pilipino* ang kanyang ginamit. Ang kanyang **Samahan ng Bayan, Sa Panganga-**

---

* Pilipino--ito ang bagong katawagan sa Wikang Pambansa—ang Tagalog.

lakal ay masasabing gabay o unang hakbang sa pagkakaroon sa ating bayan ng pagtutungtungan sa pagtitinda (cooperative marketing). Sa unang bilang ng **Kalayaan,** ang tagapamansag ng katipunan, lumabas ang kanyang **Ang Dapat Mabatid Ng Mga Tagalog** at ang tulang may pamagat na **Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Lula.** Isinulat din niya sa Pilipino ang **Ultimo Adios** ni Dr. Rizal. Ang kanyang mga sulat sa kanyang mga kasama sa himagsikan ay sa tagalog din nakatitik.

Bagaman kakaunti ang mga kasulatan, na titik ng kamay ni Bonifacio, ang mga iyo'y totoong malalaman at mahahalaga, kung ang pag-uusapan ay ang pagka-makabayan at pag-ibig sa tinubuang lupa. Ayon kay G. Epifanio de los Santos, ang mga aral, paninindigan pag-ibig sa bayan, at mga bagay na dapat malaman at isagawa ng ating mga kababayan, na nababanggit na lahat ng mga isinulat ni Dr. Rizal at Plaridel, ay nasasaklaw at matatagpuan sa tatlong kasulatan ni Bonifacio: **Ang Dapat Mabatid ng mga Tagalog, Pag-ibig sa Tinubuang Lupa,** at **Katungkulang Gagawin ng mga anak ng Bayan.**

Bakit siya naging mahusay sa pagsasalita at pagsulat sa wikang tagalog? Nabilang siya sa isang samahan ng mga lumalabas sa dula o moro-moro sa Palomar. Noong 1887, itinatag nila ang **Teatro Porvenir,** at madalas siyang kasali sa moro-moro na itinatanghal ng kanilang samahan. Ayon kay G. Teodoro A. Agoncillo, binabago niya ang mga pangalan at mga tagpo sa mga dulang kanilang itinatanghal at pinapalitan ang mga iyon ng mga pangalan o katawagan sa tagalog.

Bayaan naman ninyong ako'y maglahad ngayon ng ilang mga pangyayari sa buhay ng ating bayani, na di alam ng marami sa ating mga kababayan.

Ayon kay Espiridiona, ang kanyang Manong Andres ay may hilig sa musika. Pagdating niya sa kanilang bahay mula sa kanyang pinapasukan na nasa harap ng himpilan ng tren sa Tutuban, tatawagin niya si Nonay upang awitin ang mga awit na kanyang itinuro sa kapatid na babae, gaya ng **Trobador, La Constancia** at **Abanico.** Samantalang si Nonay ay umaawit, nakaupo naman sa kanyang silya si Andres at makikinig na mabuti. Nagtatawa siya tuwing mapansin niya na mali o wala sa ayos ang pag-awit ng kapatid.

Hindi maselan sa pagkain si Andres. Kinakain niya ang bawa't idulot sa kanya sa hapag-kainan. Gustong-gusto niya ang isda at gulay. Lagi na lamang may-gana sa pagkain. Dahil sa pagbabasa ni Bonifacio ng mga sulat ng panggagamot, marami siyang bagay na natutuhan sa pagtulong at pagdamay sa may-karamdaman. Kung mayroon siyang kapit-kabay na may sakit o nasugatan, ipinasusundo siya upang tingnan niya at gamutin.

Dahil sa paglilingkod niya sa dalawang bahay-kalakal ng mga ingles, masasabing nakaiintindi siya ng kaunting ingles. Dapat nating malaman na noong huling kalahati ng nakaraang dantaon, ang malaking bahagi ng kalakal dito sa ating bayan ay nasa kamay ng mga ingles. At may mga kawaning pilipino sila na ipinadala nila sa Hongkong, Singapore, at Calcutta upang magsanay sa pangangalakal at sa pagsasalita ng ingles.

Mahigpit si Andres sa kanyang dalawang kapatid na babae. Halimbawa, ayaw niyang makikita si Nonay na nakapamintana kung may nagdadaan sa tapat ng kanilang bahay na mga binata. Kung siya naman ay dinadalaw, upang makausap, ng isang binata, ang gagawin ni Andres ay tatawagin si Maxima at iuutos na matyagan si Nonay at isumbong sa kanya, kung makikita sa kanyang kilos o pakikipagusap sa panauhing binata, ang kawalan ng kahinhinan o kabutihang-ugali na dapat taglayin ng isang dalagang tagalog.

Ang totoo, bilang puno ng sambahayan, laging nasa isip ni Andres and kapanatagan at kabutihan ng kanyang mga kapatid. Sapagka't nang itatag niya ang Katipunan ay laging nasa panganib ang kanyang buhay, madalas niyang sabihin kay Emilio Jacinto, ang kanyang kanang kamay, na siya ang titingin at mag-aalaga sa kanyang pamilya kung may anumang kapahamakang darating sa Supremo. Dahil sa tiyaga at mabuting paraan ng pagkupkop ni Bonifacio sa kanyang mga kapatid, ayon kay Espiridiona, hindi naman sila totoong napakahirap, gaya ng pagkakalarawan sa kanila ng ibang mga manunulat.

May mga pangyayari pa sa buhay ng Dakilang Dukha na maari kong banggitin, ngunit ayokong pakahaba ang aking panayam

Itulot po sana ninyo na, sa aking pagtatapos, ay magbigay ako ng ilang kuru-kuro tungkol sa dakilang "Ama ng Demokrasya" sa ating bayan.

Ang buhay ni Bonifacio, noong siya'y wala pang dalawampung taon, ay isang matinding hagupit sa ating mga kabataan ngayon, na tanyag sa tinatawag na **juvenile delinquency** o **teenagers' hooliganism.** Sa halip na maglakuwatsa siya, magpasikat, manggulo, at pabayaan ang kanyang mga maliliit na kapatid, tinuruan niya silang magkaroon ng marangal na hanap-buhay, gumawa, magpatulo ng pawis, maging maingat at maayos sa kanilang kilos at ugali, at umibig sa Inang Bayan at sa kanilang mga kababayan.

Noong kanyang kapanahunan, na ang mga lider o nangunguna sa mga kilusang pambayan ay ang mga marurunong at mga may-kaya nating mga kababayan na mga nagtapos sa mga matataas at tanyag na paaralan sa Maynila at sa mga bansa sa Europa, ipinakilala ni Bonifacio na siya man, sa tulong ng mga maliliit at mangmang na mga kababayan niya ay may-kaya, maylakas, upang hamunin at iwasak ang masamang kapangyarihan ng mga kastila at prayle sa ating bayan. Nguni't ngayon, ano ang ating nasasaksihan? Walang pagkakataon, laluna sa politika at paghawak ng matataas na katungkulan sa pamahalaán, ang mga mahihina, ang mga maliliit. Kaya't ang nangyayari, gaya noong panahong nagdaan, ay ito: ang nagtatamasa ng ating kayamanan, ng pinagpapagalan ng angaw-angaw na mga kababayan natin, ay ang mga nariritong dayuhan at ilang mga kababayan natin na nagsasamantala sa kapangyarihan o kaya'y nakikipagsabuwatan o napakakasangkapan sa mga dayuhan.

Naiisip kaya natin na ang marami sa ating mga kababayang naninirahan sa ating mga sityo o nayon ay namumuhay nang gaya ng pamumuhay ng kanilang mga ninuno nang bago pa lamang sa ating dalampasigan ang mga mananakop na mga kastila? Di ba ng ganitong api at dustang kalagayan ang tinutulang mahigpit ni Bonifacio upang, sa pamamagitan ng lakas at sandata. ay dumating ang BAGONG ARAW na likha ng isang bagong lipunang nais niyang humalili sa bulok na lipunang itinatag at pinapanatiling mahigpit na tatlong daan taon ng mga kastila sa ating Kapuluan?

Sa kanyang **Katungkulang Gagawin ng mga Anak ng Bayan** ay sinabi niya: "Ang katwiran ang nagsasabi sa atin na tanging sa ating sarili lamang tayo dapat umasa at di dapat ipaubaya sa kanginuman ang ating mga karapatan sa buhay." Nguni't ano ang ating ginagawa ngayon? Di ba sa ating palagay ay hindi tayo maaring mabuhay kung mawawala ang tulong ng mga Amerikano? Di ba halos ang lahat ng mga sangay ng ating pamahalaan ay ipinauubaya natin sa di-umano'y dalubhasang mga amerikano? Di ba lagi na lamang nating binabanggit na ang ikatutuklas at ikalilinang ng ating mga likas na kayamanan ay mangyayari sa pamamagitan ng sa puhunang dayuhan na ating laging hinihintay? Ano't nangyayari dito na may mga lider tayong humaharap sa bayang manghahalal na ang **issues** ay ang kanilang pagkamaka-amerikano? Ano't may mga kababayan tayo na ang paniwala ay nasa mga pulahang banyagá ang katubusan ng mga maliliit nating kababayan?

Ano pa ang sinabi niya sa kanyang **Katungkulang Gagawin ng mga Anak ng Bayan?** Aniya: "Ang katwiran ay itinuturo sa atin na magkaisa ng damdamin, isipin, at layunin, upang magkaroon tayo ng kailangang lakas upang lupigin ang kasamaan na sumisira sa ating mga kababayan." Tayo ba ngayon bilang isang bansang nagsasarili, ay may pagkakaisa ng damdamin, isipin, at layunin? Di ba dahil sa pamamayani dito ng mga banyaga ay tayo'y nagkakabahabahagi? Di ba maituturing nating ang Pilipinas, na bayan nating mga Pilipino, ay **Paraiso** ng mga banyaga sa ating baya'y makialam sa paghubog sa isip ng ating kabataan, sa ating pananampalataya, sa ating pamhamahalaan, sa ating mga balak o gawaing may-aring pangkabuhayan, at sa ating mga pahayagan at himpilan ng mga radyo at **television?** Ang mga ito ba'y magagawa ng mga pilipino na naninirahan sa Hapon, Estados Unidos, Espanya o Inglatera?

O, totoong kailangan natin at napapanahon pa ang pagtalima at pagpapalaganap sa mga simulain at halimbawa ni Bonifacio at sa "Diwa ng '96."

◆

I hold it a noble task to rescue from oblivion those who deserve to be eternally remembered.

—PLINY THE YOUNGER.

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

PRESENTED BY DR. DOMINGO ABELLA

showing that

BISHOP MIGUEL LINO DE ESPELETA OF CEBU

who is regarded by many historians today as

"THE FIRST FILIPINO TO ACT AS ARCHBISHOP OF
MANILA, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINES,
AND PRESIDENT OF THE MANILA AUDIENCIA"

WAS A FULL-BLOODED SPANIARD

at the Symposium

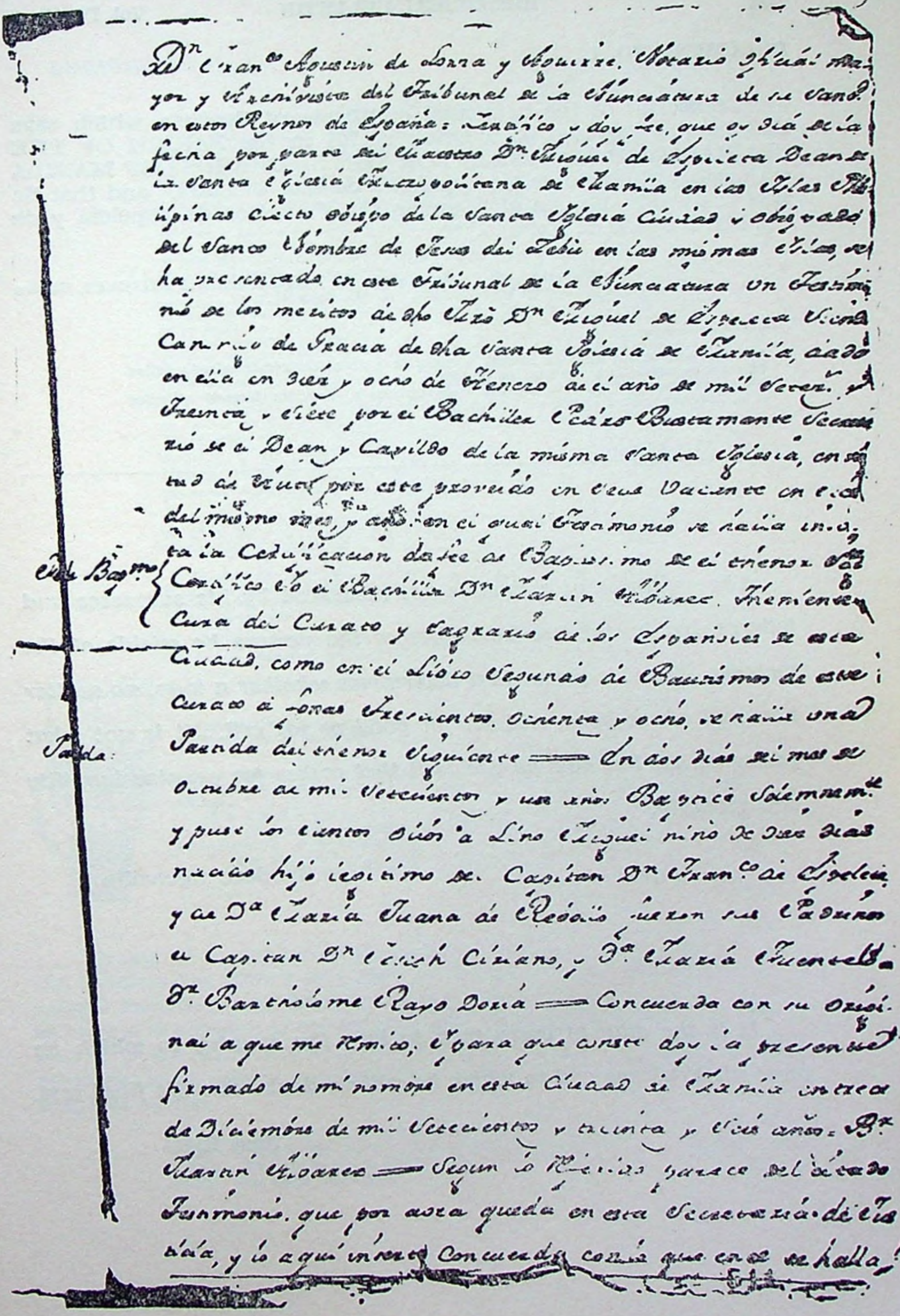
sponsored by the PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

on the topic

"IS IT HISTORICALLY CORRECT TO SAY TODAY THAT
BISHOP MIGUEL LINO DE ESPELETA (1701-1771)
WAS A FILIPINO?"

at the

ATENEO DE MANILA AUDITORIUM
27 AUGUST 1960



Dn Fran.co Agustin de Lorra y Aguirre, Notario publico ma-
yor y Archivista del Tribunal de la Nunciatura de su Santd.
en estos Reynos de España: Certifico y doy fee, que oy dia de la
fecha por parte del Maestro Dn Miguel de Espeleta Dean de
la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de Manila en las Islas Phi-
lipinas electo obispo dela Santa Iglesia Catedral y obispado
del Santo Nombre de Jesus del Zebu en las mismas Islas, se
ha presentado en este Tribunal de la Nunciatura un Testimo-
nio de los meritos de dho Ill.mo Dn Miguel de Espeleta Vica-
rio [illegible] de Gracia de dha Santa Iglesia de Manila, dado
en ella en diez y ocho de Henero del año de mil setec.tos
treinta y siete por el Bachiller Pedro Bustamante Secreta-
rio de el Dean y Cavildo de la misma Santa Iglesia, en vir-
tud de titulo por este proveido en Sede Vacante en [illegible]
del mismo mes, y año: en el qual Testimonio se halla inser-
ta la Certificacion de fee de Baptismo de el thenor sig.te
Fee de Bap.mo Certifico Yo el Bachiller Dn Martin Alvarez Teniente
Cura del Curato y Sagrario de los Españoles de esta
Ciudad, como en el Libro segundo de Baptismos de este
Curato a fojas trescientos ochenta y ocho, se halla una
Partida: Partida del thenor siguiente === En dos dias del mes de
Octubre de mil setecientos y dos años Bapticé solemnem.te
y puse los santos oleos a Lino Miguel niño de diez dias
nacido hijo legitimo del Capitan Dn Fran.co de Espeleta
y de Da Maria Juana de Rebollo fueron sus Padrinos
el Capitan Dn Joseph [illegible], y Da Maria [illegible]
Br. Bartholome Rayo Doria === Concuerda con su origi-
nal a que me remito, y para que conste doy la presente
firmado de mi nombre en esta Ciudad de Manila en treze
de Diciembre de mil setecientos y treinta y siete años. Br.
Martin Alvarez === Segun lo referido parece del citado
Testimonio, que por aora queda en esta Secretaria de [illegible]
[illegible], y lo aqui inserto Concuerda con lo que en el se halla;

DOCUMENT NO. 1

Transcript of the baptismal certificate of Espeleta which says that he was baptized on 2 October 1701 in the PARISH OF THE SPANIARDS (and exclusively FOR THE SPANIARDS) OF MANILA ("Curato y Sagrario de los Españoles de esta Ciudad),* and that he was the legitimate son of "Capitan Dn. Francisco de Espeleta y de Da. Maria Juana de Rebollo."**

The original of this Ms. is extant in the VATICAN SECRET ARCHIVES, Vatican City, **Acta Processi Consistorialia**, vol. 147, page 511.

---

* There was at the time in Manila a separate parish for non-Spaniards called **"Curato de naturales y morenos de Manila."**
** As to the fact that his parents were Spaniards, Espeleta himself affirmed it in Document No. 2 shown on next page.

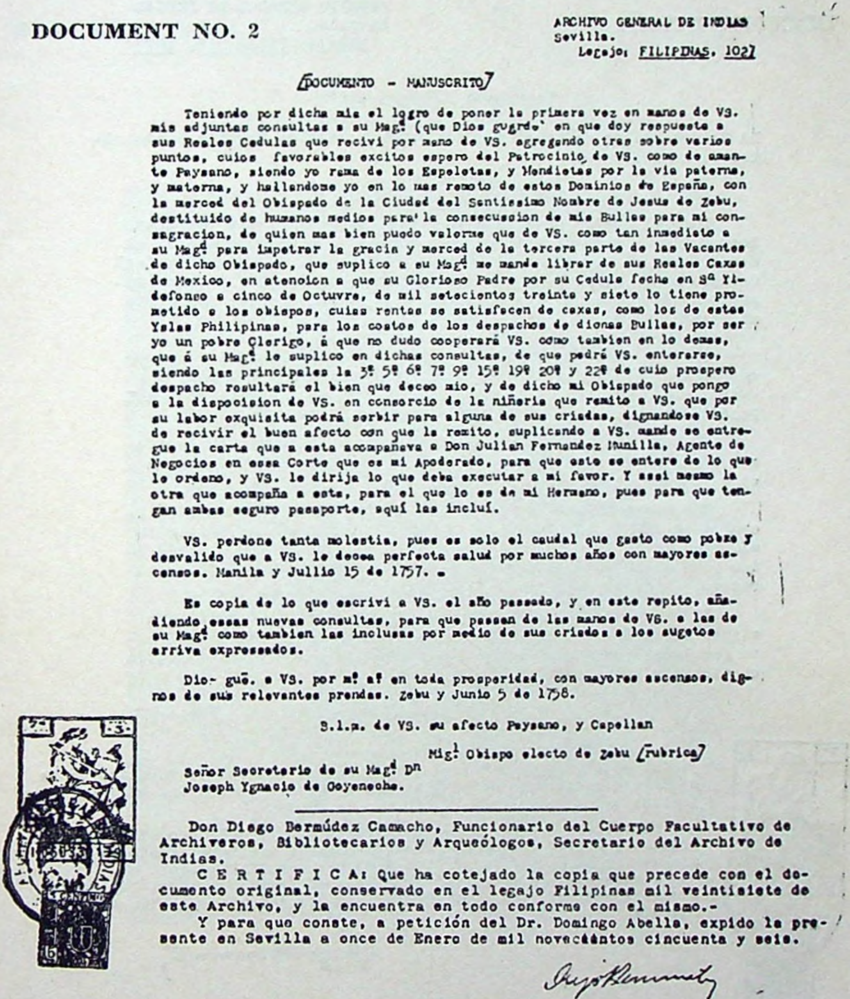
The greatness of a man is not measured by his successes and failures, but by the use he makes of the powers he wields at the moment. For it is power that determines whether a man, no matter how and where born, will act for good or for evil. It is not what power he has but how he wields it that makes for genuine humility and modesty.

Teodoro Agoncillo

It is the duty of every man to love the country to which he owes his existence and to which he will no doubt owe his final rest.

Jose Rizal

DOCUMENT NO. 2



ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS
Sevilla.
Legajo: FILIPINAS. 1027

[DOCUMENTO - MANUSCRITO]

Teniendo por dicha mia el logro de poner la primera vez en manos de VS. mis adjuntas consultas a su Mag^{d} (que Dios guarde) en que doy respuesta a sus Reales Cedulas que recivi por mano de VS. agregando otras sobre varios puntos, cuios favorables excitos espero del Patrocinio de VS. como de amante Paysano, siendo yo rama de los Espeletas, y Mendietas por la via paterna, y materna, y hallandome yo en lo mas remoto de estos Dominios de España, con la merced del Obispado de la Ciudad del Santissimo Nombre de Jesus de Zebu, destituido de humanos medios para la consecussion de mis Bullas para mi consagracion, de quien mas bien puedo valerme que de VS. como tan inmediato a su Mag^{d} para impetrar la gracia y merced de la tercera parte de las Vacantes de dicho Obispado, que suplico a su Mag^{d} me mande librar de sus Reales Caxas de Mexico, en atencion a que su Glorioso Padre por su Cedula fecha en S^{a} Yldefonso a cinco de Octuvre, de mil setecientos treinta y siete lo tiene prometido a los obispos, cuias rentas se satisfacen de caxas, como los de estas Yslas Philipinas, para los costos de los despachos de dichas Bullas, por ser yo un pobre Clerigo, á que no dudo cooperará VS. como tambien en lo demas, que á su Mag^{d} le suplico en dichas consultas, de que podrá VS. enterarse, siendo las principales la 3^{a} 5^{a} 6^{a} 7^{a} 9^{a} 15^{a} 19^{a} 20^{a} y 22^{a} de cuio prospero despacho resultará el bien que deseo mio, y de dicho mi Obispado que pongo a la disposicion de VS. en consorcio de la niñeria que remito a VS. que por su labor exquisita podrá serbir para alguna de sus criadas, dignandose VS. de recivir el buen afecto con que la remito, suplicando a VS. mande se entregue la carta que a esta acompañava a Don Julian Fernandez Munilla, Agente de Negocios en essa Corte que es mi Apoderado, para que este se entere de lo que le ordeno, y VS. le dirija lo que deba executar a mi favor. Y assi mesmo la otra que acompaña a esta, para el que lo es de mi Hermano, pues para que tengan ambas seguro passaporte, aquí las incluí.

VS. perdone tanta molestia, pues es solo el caudal que gasto como pobre y desvalido que a VS. le desea perfecta salud por muchos años con mayores ascensos. Manila y Jullio 15 de 1757. -

Es copia de lo que escrivi a VS. el año passado, y en este repito, añadiendo essas nuevas consultas, para que passen de las manos de VS. a las de su Mag^{d} como tambien las inclusas por medio de sus criados a los sugetos arriva expressados.

Dios gue. a VS. por m^{s} a^{s} en toda prosperidad, con mayores ascensos, dignos de sus relevantes prendas. Zebu y Junio 5 de 1758.

S.l.m. de VS. su afecto Paysano, y Capellan

Mig^{l} Obispo electo de Zebu [rubrica]

Señor Secretario de su Mag^{d} D^{n}
Joseph Ygnacio de Goyeneche.

Don Diego Bermúdez Camacho, Funcionario del Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos, Secretario del Archivo de Indias.

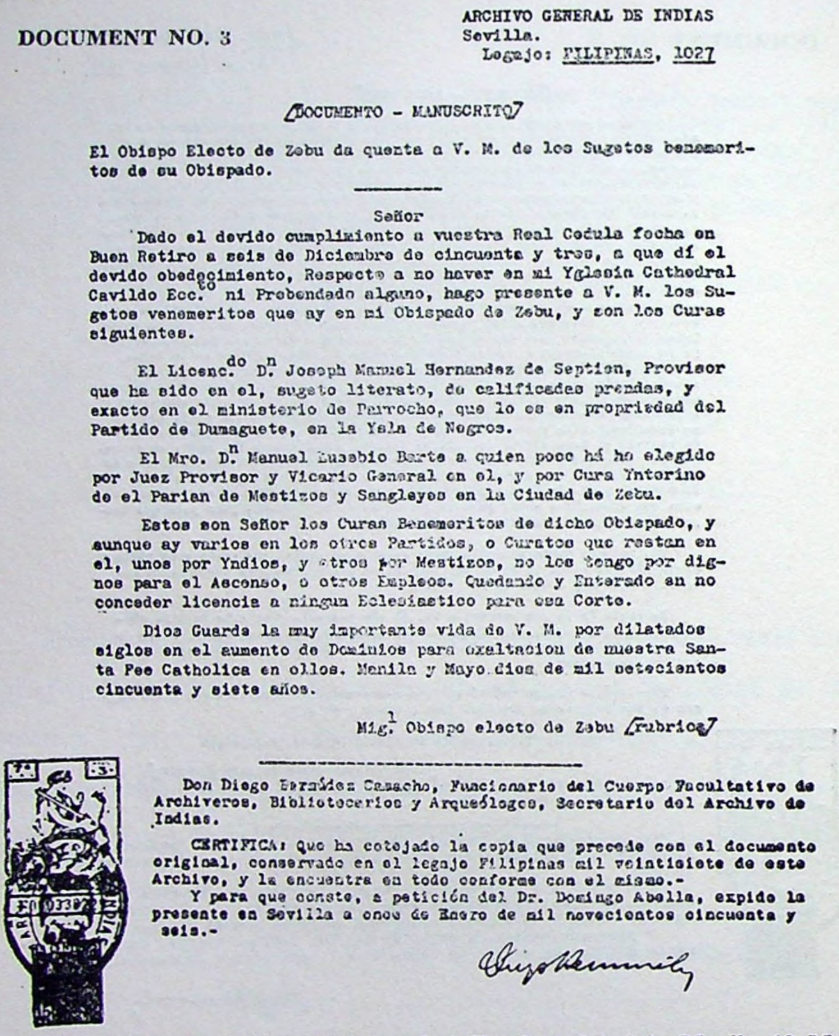
CERTIFICA: Que ha cotejado la copia que precede con el documento original, conservado en el legajo Filipinas mil veintisiete de este Archivo, y la encuentra en todo conforme con el mismo.-

Y para que conste, a petición del Dr. Domingo Abella, expido la presente en Sevilla a once de Enero de mil novecientos cincuenta y seis.

Transcript of a letter of Bishop-elect Espeleta dated in Manila 15 July 1757 (reiterated in Cebu 5 June 1758) addressed to Dn. Joseph Ygnacio de Goyeneche, Secretary to His Majesty the King, wherein the prelate points out that he belongs to a branch of the Espeletas and Mendietas (of Spain) **BY PATERNAL AND MATERNAL DESCENT** (**"siendo yo rama de los Espeletas y Mendietas, por la via paterna, y materna"**) and that therefore he is a **paysano** of the King's Secretary.

Ms. original of this document is extant in the Archivo de Indias, Seville, Spain, Legajo, Filipinas No. 1027; its photoduplicate is found in the Abella Collection in Manila. This transcript is duly authenticated by the Secretary of the Archivo de Indias, Dn. Diego Bermúdez.

DOCUMENT NO. 3



ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS
Sevilla.
Legajo: FILIPINAS, 1027

[DOCUMENTO - MANUSCRITO]

El Obispo Electo de Zebu da quenta a V. M. de los Sugetos benemeritos de su Obispado.

Señor

Dado el devido cumplimiento a vuestra Real Cedula fecha en Buen Retiro a seis de Diciembre de cincuenta y tres, a que dí el devido obedecimiento, Respecto a no haver en mi Yglesia Cathedral Cavildo Ecc.^{to} ni Probendado alguno, hago presente a V. M. los Sugetos venemeritos que ay en mi Obispado de Zebu, y son los Curas siguientes.

El Licenc.^{do} D.^{n} Joseph Manuel Hernandez de Sention, Provisor que ha sido en el, sugeto literato, de calificadas prendas, y exacto en el ministerio de Parrocho, que lo es en propriedad del Partido de Dumaguete, en la Ysla de Negros.

El Mro. D.^{n} Manuel Eusebio Barte a quien poco há he elegido por Juez Provisor y Vicario General en el, y por Cura Ynterino de el Parian de Mestizos y Sangleyes en la Ciudad de Zebu.

Estos son Señor los Curas Benemeritos de dicho Obispado, y aunque ay varios en los otros Partidos, o Curatos que restan en el, unos por Yndios, y otros por Mestizos, no los tengo por dignos para el Ascenso, o otros Empleos. Quedando y Enterado en no conceder licencia a ningun Eclesiastico para esa Corte.

Dios Guarde la muy importante vida de V. M. por dilatados siglos en el aumento de Dominios para exaltacion de nuestra Santa Fee Catholica en ellos. Manila y Mayo dies de mil setecientos cincuenta y siete años.

Mig.^{l} Obispo electo de Zebu [rubrica]

Don Diego Bermúdez Camacho, Funcionario del Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos, Secretario del Archivo de Indias.

CERTIFICA: Que ha cotejado la copia que precede con el documento original, conservado en el legajo Filipinas mil veintisiete de este Archivo, y la encuentra en todo conforme con el mismo.-

Y para que conste, a petición del Dr. Domingo Abella, expido la presente en Sevilla a once de Enero de mil novecientos cincuenta y seis.-

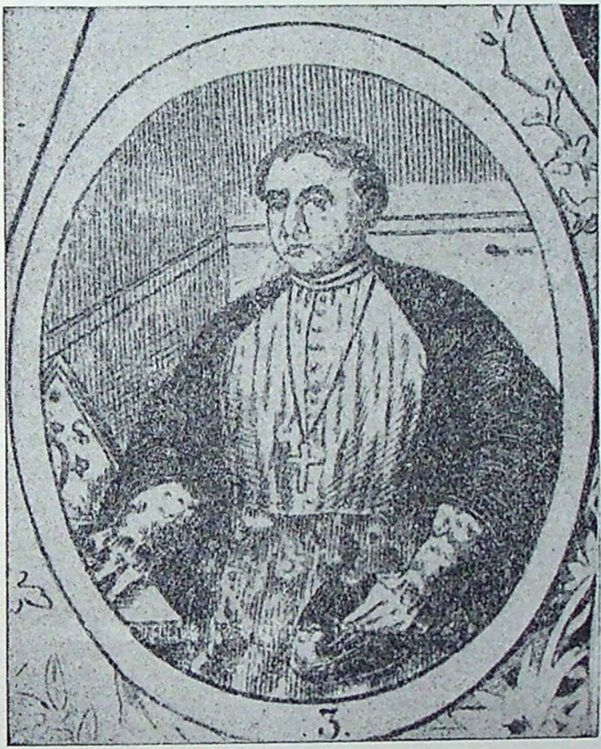
Transcript of a letter of Bishop-elect Espeleta dated in Manila 10 May 1757 addressed to the King in answer to a royal decree requesting all bishops of the colonies to submit names of ecclesiastics of their bishoprics worthy of promotion. After submitting two names (presumably of Spaniards) the Bishop-elect wrote as follows:

> "These, Sire, are the meritorious curates of the said bishopric (Cebu) and although several others more are found in its various districts and parishes, some, because they are Yndios, and others, for being Mestizos, I do not consider worthy of promotion or assignment to other positions."

Ms. original of this document is extant in the Archivo de Indias, Seville Spain, Legajo, Filipinas No. 1027; its photoduplicate is found in the Abella Collection in Manila. This transcript is duly authenticated by the Secretary of the Archivo de Indias, Dn. Diego Bermúdez.

DOCUMENT NO. 4

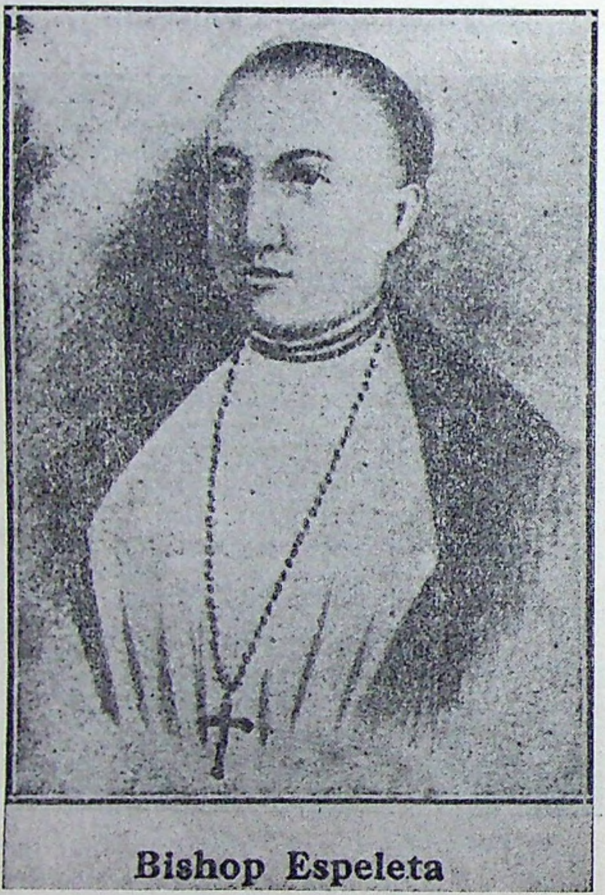
ESPELETA THE SPANIARD



Portrait of Bishop Miguel Lino de Espeleta (1701-1771) published—apparently for the first time—by one of his successors in the See of Cebu, Bishop Benito Romero de Madridejos, in his two-volume work *Pastorales . . . de esta Diócesis de Cebú* (Manila, 1883-84). The same portrait was published in the periodical *Estrella de Antipolo,* Manila, 17 July 1909, p. 457.

DOCUMENT NO. 5

A FRAUD IN PHILIPPINE HISTORY BEING PERPETUATED



ESPELETA WAS MADE TO LOOK LIKE A "FILIPINO"
This picture appears in several history textbooks.

"In order to give Espeleta some Oriental features and thus reinforce an stereotyped claim, someone maliciously changed his face in this portrait which is a sophisticated copy of that presented in Documente No. 4. It is not surprising then that Prof. Jaime C. de Veyra was led to believe that Espeleta was a Mestizo Chinese." — Dr. D. Abella.

SUMMARY.

1. Documents No. 1 and No. 2 make out a complete *prima facie* case that Espeleta was of a full-blooded Spanish parentage belonging to the Castilian gentry. It stands unanswered.

2. Document No. 3 supports the above documents and shows that:

(a) Espeleta was not an "Yndio", nor even a "Mestizo".

(b) The standing policy of the Spanish colonial government was not to promote to positions of responsibility and honor ecclesiastics belonging to the "Yndio " or "Mestizo" class, however meritorious they might be.

(c) Despite Espeleta's *accidental* birth in the Philippines, he considered himself as belonging to the Spanish elite, the element known to the native islanders as "Kastila"—not to the class of the subjugated people of the time now known to us as *Filipinos*. By law those of this class were considered to be minors in a perpetual state of tutelage.

3. Birth in the Philippines did not make one a *Filipino* in the legal sense of *jus soli* as it could do today. That present standards cannot be applied to events of the past is, in the first place, a cardinal principle in historical analysis. There was, in the 18th century no such thing as Filipino citizenshp. There was but a Spaniard ("español") and a Spanish subject ("súbdito español). In the second place, the principle of *jus sanguinis* was the rule followed by Spain (and other countries of continental Europe) at the time. As a matter of fact, today, the present Civil Code in force in Spain says that:

> "El *ius sanguinis* sigue cumpliendo la función de principio básico para la determinación de la nacionalidad." (Circular Núm. 2.445, Madrid, 23 de Julio de 1954.)

4. The claim that "the children born in the Philippines of Spanish parents were *regarded as* and *called* Filipinos" (not by the natives who always called them "Kastilas" together with Peninsulars) is irrelevant. This was not so during Espeleta's time. The custom had its inception in the 19th. century.

5. Documents No. 4 and No. 5 disclose that there has been a malicious attempt on the part of a certain sector of the intelligentsia of this country to distort the facts of our history—to the extent of sophisticating pictures—to achieve a purpose.

Having established a *prima facie* case that there was no such thing as a "Filipino archbishop of Manila, governor-general and president of the Manila Audiencia" during the Spanish regime in the Philippines, as claimed by some historians, I submit my thesis to the judgment of my betters in the historical field. The burden of intelligent rebuttal now rests with my worthy opponents.

DOMINGO ABELLA

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF HISTORIANS

25-30 NOVEMBER 1960

Sponsored by the PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
Committee in Charge:
Prof. Nicolás Zafra, Chairman (*on leave*)
Prof. Domingo Abella, Co-Chairman
Prof. Jorge L. Revilla, Executive Secretary
Secretariat: University of the East, Manila, Philippines.

THEME: FOCUS ON ASIA

PURPOSES:
1. To afford scholars in different countries an opportunity to come together for an exchange of views, ideas and information regarding what is being done in their respective countries towards the extension, improvement and refinement of historical knowledge relative to national and regional needs of Asian peoples.
2. To find ways and means of solving common problems in research for truthful information with a view to discarding myths, fables and stereotyped claims appearing in the guise of facts in history books.
3. To consider the possibility of organizing an association of historians living in this part of the world having for its main objective the enhancement of the usefulness of written history as an instrument of promotion of world peace, goodwill, and understanding.

No. 1 **NEWSLETTER** **September, 1960**

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE OF ACTIVITIES

Day	Morning Sessions (9:00-12:00)	Noon (12:00-2:00)	Afternoon Sessions (2:00-5:00)	Evening (7:00-12:00)
Nov. 25th (Friday	Reg. of Delegates and Opening Ceremonies	Luncheon	Reading of Papers and Panel Discussions	(Sponsored) Dinner and Cultural Program
Nov. 26th (Saturday)	Reading of Papers and Panel Discussions	Luncheon	Reading of Papers and Panel Discussions	Free Time
Nov. 27th (Sunday)	DO	DO	DO	DO
Nov. 28th (Monday)	DO	DO	1. Gen. Plenary Session 2. Business Meeting	(Sponsored) Dinner and Cultural Program
Nov. 29th (Tuesday)	Guided Tour	Tour	Tour	Free Time
Nov. 30th (Wednesday)	DO	DO	DO	Free Time

INFORMATION BULLETIN

Attendance of FOREIGN DELEGATES (as of 31 August 1960)

Radiogram received from Djakarta, Indonesia, via RCA Communications.

PROF. R. SUKANTO WITH PAPER LAW AND COURTS IN OLD DJAKARTA AND SENIOR LECTURER SUTJIPTO WIRJOSUPARTO WITH PAPER THE ROLE OF BUDDHISM OF SOUTH INDIA IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHIST THOUGHT IN INDONESIA WILL ATTEND CONFERENCE AS DELEGATES OF UNIVERSITY OF INDONESIA STOP NECESSARY DOCUMENTS WILL BE MAILED SOON BY REGISTERED MAIL.

PRESIDENT UNIVERSITY OF INDONESIA

DELEGATES FROM INDONESIA (University of Indonesia, Djakarta, Indonesia).

1. Prof. R. Sukanto, Ph.D., LL.D. (University of Leyden, Holland). Professor, Indonesian History, Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia; Member of the Advisory Board, Council for Sciences, Indonesia; Member, Indonesian Historical Records Commission, New Delhi, India; registered as Scholar and Specialist in Indonesian History, Yale University (Southeast Asian Studies), New Haven, Connecticut, USA.

   Author of numerous treatises on Indonesian History in Indonesian language.

   Paper submitted for the Conference: **Law and Courts of Justice in Old Jacarta.**

2. Prof. R. M. Sutjipto Wirjosuparto, M.A. (University of Indonesia). Senior Lecturer in Archaeology and Cultural History, Head of the Department of Archaeology, Head of the Department of History, Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia; Director of the B II Course History, Ministry of Education, Indonesia. President, The Association of Graduates in Arts of Indonesia (since 1957); Honorary Member of the Institute for Historical Research of Indonesia.

   Author of: **Some Problems on Culture Change in Indonesia, As a Result of Indonesian and Western Culture Contacts; The Preservation of Javanese Vocal Music in Indonesia; A New Interpretation of the Borobudur Monument**, etc.

   Paper submitted for the Conference: **The Role of Buddhism of South India in the Development of Buddhist Thought in Indonesia.**

DELEGATES FROM OKINAWA (University of the Ryukyus, Naha, Okinawa).

1. Prof. Shin-en Tomiura, Graduate School, Rissho University, Tokyo, Japan. Published works: **A Study of the Rise and Fall of Trade in the Ryukyus in the Early 17th Century; Education of History Courses in Okinawa; A Study of the Position of the Ryukyuan Trade on Oriental History in the Early 17th. Century.**

   Paper Submitted for the Conference: **Relation of Ryukyuan Kings' Trade with China to Internal Political Affairs.**

2. Prof. Eiichiro Tomoyose, Graduate School, Northeastern Missouri State Teachers' College, U.S.A.

   Published works: **Ryukyuan History and Climate; History of Okinawan Education; Problems on Psychoanalytical Understanding of Historical Facts; An Okinawan Historian and Psychology,** etc.

   Paper submitted for the Conference: **Controversial Points Regarding Psychological Exploration into Ryukyuan History.**

DELEGATE FROM SINGAPORE (Nanyang University).

Prof. Wu Ching-Hong, Department of History and Geography.

Published works: **A History of the Sino-Philippine Relations; A History of the Chinese in the Philippines; A History of the Oversea Chinese,** etc.

Papers submitted for the Conference: I. **Discussion on a New Outline of History of the Chinese in the Philippines During the Spanish Period. II. Some Objective Observations on the Chinese Community as a Majority Group in Singapore's Nation-Building—A Historical Study on the Current Situation in Southeast Asia.**

DELEGATE FROM MACAU

Rev. Fr. Eusebio Arnaiz, C.SS.R., Official Chronicler of the Catholic Diocese of Macau, Specialist in the History of the Portuguese Colonization in Southeast Asia.

Paper submitted for the Conference: **Spanish Missions from Manila Passing Through Macau.**

DELEGATE FROM KOREA

Prof. Hae-jong Chun, Ph.D. (Harvard Graduate School, U.S.A.).

Assistant Dean, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Seoul National University, Seoul, Korea.

Paper submitted for the Conference: **Chinese Cultural Influence on Korea in the 18th. Century.**

Paper submitted for the Conference: "Chinese Cultural Influence on Korea in the 18th. Century."

DELEGATES FROM HONGKONG (various institutions).

1. Prof. Ian William Gowers, B.A. Hons. History, Bristol University, London, England.

   Professor in History, Chung Chi College, Hongkong.

2. Mr. Sun Kwok-tung, M.A., New Asia Research Institute and National Ching Chih University.
   Lecturer, New Asia College, Hong Kong; Editor, **Young-sun Magazine**, Hong Kong.

   Published works: **Social Changes in China at the End of Tang and Beginning of Sung; Living and Thought; Development of San Sheng System of the Tang Dynasty**, etc.

   Paper submitted for the Conference: **The Characteristics and Development of Shih-Jen Class in China.**
3. Dr. Yu-Kai Wang, M.S.Ed., Ph.D. (Hon.), LL.D. (Hon.), Litt.D. (Hon.) Dean, Faculty of Arts, The United College of Hongkong. Phi Kappa Phi, University of Southern California, L.A., USA; Professor's Certificate (No. 339), Ministry of Education, Nationalist Government of China; former Dean, School of Education, Great China University Shanghai; Professor of History of Western Education, St. John's University, Shanghai; University Dean, Union University of Soochow, etc.

   Published works: **The School System Between China and the United States; The Theory and Practice of College Discipline**, etc.

   Paper submitted for the Conference: **Progress of History and the Historical View of Collective Existence.**

DELEGATE FROM THE UNITED STATES (University of Chicago, Philippine Studies Program, Chicago, Illinois)

Mr. E. D. Hester, Associate Director, Philippine Studies Program

Letter from Dr. Fred Eggan, Director, Philippine Studies Program, Head, Anthropology Department, University of Chicago.

Thank you very much for the invitation to participate in the International Conference of Historians which the Philippine Historical Association will hold on November 25-30, 1960, in Manila. I won't be able to attend myself but Mr. E. D. Hester will be glad to represent the Philippine Studies Program. He might give a preliminary account of our Alcina project or discuss some other problems of interest. He will be in the Philippines around November 1, and will communicate with you further.

Our best wishes for this Conference and I am sorry that I will be unable to be there myself.

Sincerely,
FRED EGGAN

DELEGATE FROM AUSTRALIA

H. E. Alfred Stirling, Australian Ambassador to the Republic of the Philippines.

FOREIGN HISTORIANS COMING TO MANILA FOR THE CONFERENCE

Mr. Shin-en Tomimura
University of the Ryukus
Naha, Okinawa

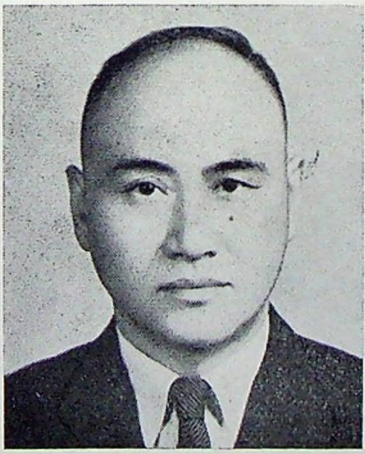
Mr. Eiichiro Tomoyose
University of the Ryukus
Naha, Okinawa

Prof. Yasushi Nakashima
Tokyo University of
Foreign Studies
Tokyo, Japan

Prof. Toshio Kawabe
Tokyo University of
Foreign Studies
Tokyo, Japan

Dr. Chang Kuei-young
Acting Director, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Republic of China.

Dr. Weilun Chen
Head, Department of Culture and Education, Ministry of Education, Republic of China.



Mr. Lao Kan
Academician and Research Fellow, Academia Sinica, Republic of China.

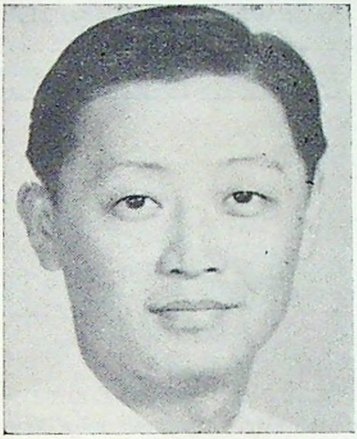
Mr. Shih Chang-Ju
Research Fellow, Academia Sinica, Republic of China.

Prof. R. Sukanto
University of Indonesia
Djakarta, Indonesia

Prof. R. M. Sutjipto Wirjosuparto
University of Indonesia
Djakarta, Indonesia

Dr. Y. K. Wang
The United College of Hongkong
Hong Kong

Mr. Iam William Powers
Chung Chi College, Hong Kong



Mr. Sun Kwok-tung
New Asia Research Institute
Hong Kong

Prof. M. R. Sumonjati Swasdikul
Chulalongkorn University
Bangkok, Thailand

Prof. Hae Jong Chun
Seoul National University
Seoul, Korea

Prof. Wu Ching-Hong
Nanyang University,
Singapore

RESUME OF SOME OF THE PAPERS SUBMITTED FOR THE CONFERENCE BY FOREIGN DELEGATES

LAW AND COURTS OF JUSTICE IN OLD JACARTA

By Dr. R. Sukanto
Professor, Indonesian History, Faculty of Letters
University of Indonesia.

Preface. What is meant by *old* Jacarta?

If in this writing I speak about old Jacarta, I am referring to Jacarta when it was called respectively Sunda Calapa, Jayacarta and Batavia and surroundings — Batavia in the period of the East Indian Company, in the period of governor-general Daendels and in the period of English government (Raffles).

Sunda-Calapa. When Jacarta was still called Sunda Calapa, it was one of the harbours of the kingdom of Pajajaran on the sea of Java. In 1500 this kingdom had as borders the rivers Tjitarum (east), Tjikandi (west), in the south the mountains Dajeuhluhur and the place Pamotan (near Nusakambangan) and in the north the Java-sea. Another harbour on the Java-sea was Banten. Sunda Calapa and Banten were governed by representatives of the kingdom of Pajajaran.

What code of law was used in Pajajaran?

We know that in Pajajaran was the Hindu tradition; we know also that the capital of the kingdom, namely Pakuan, was established because persons of high position moved from East Java to the West. Finally we know also that the persons who moved to West Java probably brought with them lawbooks from East Java to the West. About the year 1000 Dharmawangsa (East Java) had a lawbook drawn up named Ciwasasana. Gadjahmada, prime minister of Mojopait (1331-1364) gave his name to a lawbook.

These books contained the old indigenous law. This means that the original law was maintained, naturally influenced by Hinduism.

My opinion is that in the period of the kingdom of Pajajaran the law was the indigenous law influenced by Hinduism and that this law was used in the courts of justice.

Jayacarta. In 1527 Sunda Calapa was conquered by the person who was called by the Portuguese *Falatehan.*

He was a man from Pasei (North Sumatra), and had left that place because the Portuguese had conquered it in 1521. He made a journey to Mecca and remained there for two or three years. When he came back to Pasei from Mecca, he left that place immediately and went to Japara and Demak (Central Java). The result of his work — teaching the Islam religion— was so excellent that he could marry the sister of the Prince of Demak, Prince Trenggono.

Then Falatehan came to Banten and Sunda Calapa, and captured the two places belonging to Pajajaran, the latter in 1527. In that year the name Sunda Calapa was changed into Jayacarta, meaning: the last victory, the complete victory, the full victory on persons embracing the Hindu religion like in Pajajaran, and after having attacked the Portuguese who came back in 1527, when they intended to build a fortress based on the treaty of 21st August 1522 between Pajajaran and the Portuguese.

What code of law was then used in Jayacarta?

We cannot deny that the Islamic religion changed the situation. Hinduism which had influenced the indigenous law, had to make place for Islam. But it is also true that the indigenous law remained and could not be abolished. It is also true that up to the present Islam has always influenced our law, but that religion has never been able to wipe out the Indonesian indigenous law.

Thus in the period of Jayacarta the indigenous law, influenced by Islam, was used (also in the courts).

In 1596 the first Dutch came to Jayacarta.

In 1602 the "Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie" (East Indian Company) was established. It was a trading Company and the central place was in East Indonesia (Ambon). As the position of Ambon was too far away from the gateway between West and East or East and West, the V.O.C. tried to find a place on the Malay peninsula or on the island Java.

In 1603 the Company got permission to build a lodge in Banten, but because the place was unhealthy, and the V.O.C. was also afraid of an attack from the side of Banten, they tried to find another place. The place was Jayacarta. The Prince of Jayacarta allowed the V.O.C. to build a lodge on the east-side of the river Tjiliwung. In 1612 the building was finished; the name was "Nassau". A second lodge named "Mauritius" was finished in 1617.

The English were jealous of the permit given to the Dutch and also tried to build a lodge in Jayacarta. The Pangeran of Jayacarta had no objection. Thus an English lodge was built on the other side of the Tjiliwung opposite the Dutch lodges, (1618).

In 1618 Jan Pieterszoon Coen was appointed governor-general. The presence of the English lodge was a continual threat for Coen. Therefore on 23rd December 1618 he attacked the English, which resulted in a victory for the Dutch. It would seem that he received the post of governor-general in East Indonesia on 23rd March 1619. As soon as possible Coen sailed back to Jayacarta (2nd April 1619) and arrived on 23rd May 1619.

With 1000 men he attacked Jayacarta and conquered the place on 30th May 1619. He drove away all the inhabitants of Jayacarta, and burned and destroyed the place.

Batavia and surroundings in the period of the East Indian Company.

The name Jayacarta was changed into Batavia. However, the inhabitants of Batavia ran away. Those who remained were for example: the Dutch, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Moor (moslem from Kalinga). To fill Batavia again, the Company transplanted:

a. persons from *Banda* (1621); the name Banda quarter is known;
b. persons from *Bali* (1667); the name Bali quarter is also known;
c. persons from Bone, the so-called *Bugis* quarter is not foreign to us;
d. persons from *Makasar;* the Makasar quarter is in Djatinegara;
e. persons from the islands of *Sumbawa* and *Bima*.

What kind of law was used in the period of the Company in Batavia and surroundings?

According to Coen, to be subject to the Company meant changing the judicature for that of the Company; this meant that essentially all people in Batavia and surroundings — also the Indonesians — were under the law of the Company, i.e. European-Dutch law or Roman law. However, for small private cases and matters in connection with religion the law of the Company was not used.

In Batavia there was a court of justice.

Batavia and surroundings in the period of governor general Daendels.

The East Indian Company went bancrupt on 31st December 1799. Its successors were, first "De Bataafsche Republiek", and after the subjection of the Netherlands by France, "het koninkrijk Holland" under king Lodewijk Napoleon. To the post of governor-general was appointed Marshall Herman Willem Daendels, who assumed his work on 14th January 1808.

Because France was in a state of war with England, the instruction was that in the first place Daendels had to pay attention to the defence of the Archipelago. Except for the military courts of justice, Daendels was not interested in civil law and courts. Therefore, there were no important alterations regarding law and courts; the situation remained like in the period of the Company.

Daendels ruled with an iron dictator's hand.

When the "Hooge Raad van Justitie" (High Court of Justice) protested because Daendels had decided to hang five persons while the affair was still under investigation of that court he abolished the court.

At the beginning of his administration he reduced the competence of the Council of the "Dutch East" Indies. This body became only an advisory body.

He tried to strengthen the treasury of the State by selling many plots of land in Java.

He also tried to fight corruption, but the man himself was corrupt. When he took by force "langoed Buitenzorg" (the estate of Buitenzorg) he sold it to the government at a profit of "900.000 gulden."

The relations with the Sultan of Jogjacarta were very unsatisfactory; he tried to abolish the customs in the palace (kraton).

Because of many accusations, governor-general Daendels had to leave his post; his place was taken by governor-general Jan Willem Janssens (16 May 1811).

Janssens was not fortunate.

Nearly three months after his arrival, the English anchored in Batavia. Janssens could not defend the town and removed his headquarters to Semarang. Serondol (place of defence) was attacked and Janssens had to surrender unconditionally to lieutenant-general Samuel Auchmutty.

For what reasons did the English come to Indonesia?

We know that France (also the kingdom of Holland) and Britain were at war.

Lord Minto, governor-general in India (Calcutta) was informed that Daendels was busy to strengthen the defence in Indonesia. Although an expedition was very expensive, strategically it was necessary to destroy all equipment of war, namely the fortresses, the battleships, etc. in the Archipelago. Further it was necessary to punish the Dutch in Indonesia, so that the expedition was a sort of punitive expedition.

And so Lord Minto conquered Indonesia.

With him came also Raffles. On 11th September 1811 he was appointed to the post of lieutenant governor of the Archipelago by Lord Minto.

Batavia and surroundings in the period of the English government (Raffles).

Raffles formed a board (committee, commission) to investigate the social life of the Indonesians in Java. The president was *Mackenzie*.

While the results of that inquiry were pending, provisional alterations were made in the field of law.

Alterations in the organization of the courts for the Europeans as well as for the Indonesians are to be found in the proclamation of 21st January 1812.

The basis of the organization was: "The separation as much as possible of the Judicial from the police powers." Therefore there were two bodies side by side: the judicature and the magistracy. This was the organization in England, where Raffles had taken it from. The magistracy was a police-cout. The system of the courts for the was a police-court. The system of the courts for the Europeans in the town of Batavia and surroundings in Semarang and Surabaya also applied to the Indonesians. Courts of Justice were found respectively in Batavia (for Batavia and surroundings), in Semarang and in Surabaya. The court of Justice in Batavia acted also as a Supreme Court of Justice for the courts in Semarang and in Surabaya. Besides the bodies of judicature, there were magistracy courts for police-matters in the towns above. The courts of justice had juries, in accordance with British practice. The law used by the courts and magistracy for Europeans as well as for Indonesians was in general European law.

Conclusion. Our conclusion is that:

(1) In the period of Pajajaran the indigenous law influenced by parts of Hinduism, on the whole called adat-law was used (also in the courts) in *Sunda Calapa;*

(2) The indigenous law, but now influenced by parts of Islam, on the whole also called adat-law, was used (also in the courts) in *Jayacarta;*

(3) In the period of the East Indian Company, the Company forced the use of the law and the courts of the Company also for Indonesians in *Batavia and surroundings*. That law was: the law of the Company or the Dutch law, or the old Dutch law and Roman law.

However, for small private cases and matters in connection with religion the law of the Company was not used.

(4) During the period of Daendels Western law and Western courts were also used for all the inhabitants including Indonesians in *Batavia and surroundings*. For small private cases and matters in connection with religion Western laws were not used.

(5) In the period of Raffles Western law and Western courts were used for all the inhabitants including Indonesians in *Batavia and surroundings*.

The law and the system of the courts were influenced by what was used in England. In the court of justice in Batavia there was a jury. It would seem that small private cases and matters in connection with religion were judged by Western courts too.

THE ROLE OF BUDDHISM OF SOUTH INDIA ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHIST THOUGHT IN INDONESIA

By Sutjipto Wirjosuparto

Senior Lecturer in Archaeology and Cultural History of Indonesia, Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia.

Buddhism played an important role in the development of civilization in South East Asia, among others in Indonesia. The two main Buddhist school, i.e. Hînayâna and Mahâyâna Buddhism. were both known in Indonesia. Since the death of Lord Buddha Buddhism was divided into many sects which were teaching more or less the same tenets. Based on some similarities of their tenets, these sects can be divided and grouped into two main schools, namely Hînayâna and Mahâyana Buddhism.

One of the sects in Hînayâna Buddhism which showed close similarities with Mâhayâna Buddhism was the Mahâsanghika, since the latter like the case with Mahâyâna Buddhism accepted divine beings who were called bodhisatwas. They were conceived to be divine beings who were looking for liberation. The centre of Mahâsanghika and Mahâyâna activities was in South India and as these schools were teaching in the same region, it was not out of reason that these schools were teaching almost the same tenets. From one of the Nagârjunikonda inscriptions found in South India, it was clear that Buddha got the epithet of "jita-râga-dwesa-moha", meaning that Buddha was the conqueror (jita) of the three klecas, or three kinds of filths.

Since the ultimate goal of Mahâyâna Buddhism, which was taught in the San Hyang Kamahâyânikan, a treatise in Old-Javanese language composed in Central Java in the 8th and 9th Centuries A.D., was to get rid of the three klecas, it can be concluded that Buddhism which spread from India to Indonesia should have started from South India. But on the contrary, since it is clear that the

San Hyang Kamahâyânikan also taught some tenets belonging to the Tantric Buddhism of North India with its centre at Nâlandâ, it can be concluded that the text of the Sang Hyang Kamahâyânikan should have been composed by an author who knew also the tenets of Mahâyâna Buddhism of North India. So the only conclusion should be, that since it is clear from historical evidence that the Indonesian mind was tolerant, the process of acculturation between Mahâsanghika and Mahâyâna philosophical thoughts was a proof of the eclectical mind of the Indonesian people.

# # #

PROGRESS OF HISTORY AND THE HISTORICAL VIEW OF COLLECTIVE EXISTENCE

By Dr. Y. K. Wang
Dean, Faculty of Arts
The United College of Hongkong

The progress of history is essentially the progress of human existence. The historical view of collective human existence, having a wider sphere than the materialistic one and recognizing the importance of progress, exalts collective existence above individual existence. It shows that the evolution of society is the result of common endeavors and that in the growth of human society, various forces, the social, political, religious, cultural, artistic and others, co-exist and function jointly, not just the economic one.

The more history develops, the closer becomes the relationship among men, and as intelligence and virtue grow, human organizations become more complex and multifarious, and human beings more submissive and tolerant. And viewing history vertically and horizontally, we come to see its great value in recording the continual struggle of man for self-improvement. History is indeed a corrective for human life.

# # #

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND DEVELOPMENT OF SHIH-JEN CLASS IN CHINA

By Sun Kuo-tung
Lecturer of Chinese History, New Asia College, Hongkong

The Chinese term Shih Jen has its special meaning which has no precise equivalent in the Western dictionaries. If one tries to translate it into English the word intellectual may be the nearest substitue. But the definition of intellectual stresses a person's higher mental capacity than average, while the term Shih-Jen denotes that beyond his endowment of unusual mental capacity (suitable for the exercise of intellect) he secures the respect and admiration of the common people through his own strict innate moral discipline, strong sense of duty and zealous will for serving the nation as a whole. An ordinary intellectual may even posses higher mental powers and finer character, but his vocational desires and the public expectation regarding his profession will certainly not be confined to the political arena. The honorable and respectable status for Shih-Jen was established partly through his own efforts and partly through the respect for him by the common people.

It was natural that in the ancient Chinese society the Shih-Jens became a special class of people, because the privilege of pursuing studies, (primarily of humanities) was limited to a very small number of people. The political, social and cultural tradition formulated and carried on by the Shih-Jens lasted for two thousand years and remains today merely in name. The Shih-Jen's flourishing and limping reflected the prosperity and decline of each dynasty.

To pursue studies — thoroughly reading and understanding the Chinese Classics, history and other literary books — and to join the civil services were the only works which a Shih-Jen should and would undertake, for the other trades were regarded not only by him but also by the common people as unworthy subordination. His duty was to work for the welfare of the whole nation, and the other trades were mistakenly regarded as only beneficial to a certain person or a group of persons.

The Shih-Jen in China started to exist in the very ancient time but the characteristics matured only during the Spring-Autumn and Warring States period. Generally speaking, from Han Dynasty onwards the social conditions during each of the succeeding dynasties might be different, but the qualities and functions of the Shih-Jen remained the same. Unfortunely since the Mongols and Manchus ruled China respectively the Shih-Jen's tradition gradually changed, his moral discipline decayed, his extention of knowledge stagnated and his enthusiasm towards the ministering of political affairs diminished. As a result the Chinese community suddenly lost its axis during each of the two dynasties. This is the reason why China was unable to accept wholeheartedly the Western civilization to reform herself, and in the past four decades why China could not resist neither mentally nor physically the invasion of international communism. Since the Chinese traditional culture is entirely and sharply opposed to Marxism the Chinese communists have been and are attempting to extinguish it.

But a nation with more than four thousand years of history behind her, China certainly possesses a character of perseverance in which lies the truth of its constinuous existence. The traditional spirit of the Shih-Jen represents this very character. I am of the opinion that if the traditional spirit of the Shih-Jen will be regenerated, China will recover from her present misfortune.

# # #

PART I.

DISCUSSION OF A NEW OUTLINE OF HISTORY OF THE CHINESE IN THE PHILIPPINES DURING THE SPANISH PERIOD

By Wu Ching-Hong
Associate Professor
Nanyang University, Singapore

In his nearly 800-pages book entitled *The Chinese in Southeast Asia* (1951), Dr. Victor Purcell tells us, under the general topic, "The Chinese under the Spanish Regime, 1570-1603; 1605-1700; and

1700-1898" in three chapters with less than 40 pages, about the Chinese in the Philippines during this period. Of course, his description is not comprehensive. Moreover, just as what he said: he had, for the most part, to rely on secondary sources and, as was to be expected, there were many gaps in his information. The present writer is trying his best to make up one of the gaps of his book, the part about the above topic. He has collected, assessed and summarised all the important references, mostly from Chinese, English and Spanish sources, for writing a dissertation on *The Chinese in the Philippines during the Spanish Period.* The first draft will be around 500 pages in typewritten form. Here follows his presentation of an outline worthwhile for our discussion.

TENTATIVE OUTLINE

I. Introduction
    1. A Review of the Present Writer's Related Papers
    2. Nature, Scope, Importance and Sources of this Paper
II. General Description of the Philippines in the Early Chinese Sources
III. General Description of the Filipinos in the Early Chinese Sources
IV. The Identification of Names of Places in the Philippines Mentioned in the Chinese Sources
V. Early Contact between the Chinese and the Filipinos
VI. Early Contact between the Chinese and the Spaniards
VII. Spanish Plan to Conquer China
VIII. Spaniards Going to China
IX. The Term "Sangley" Designating the Chinese
X. The Chinese in Trade
XI. The Chinese in Indigenous Commerce
XII. The Parian
XIII. The Chinese in Agriculture
XIV. Chinese Contact with Christianity
XV. Spanish Policies toward the Chinese
XVI. Lin Feng (Limahon), 1574
XVII. Wang Wang-kao (Omocon), 1575

XVIII. Pan Ho-Wu, 1593
XIX. Chang Yi (Tio Heng) and the First Massacre of the Chinese, 1603
XX. The Second Massacre of the Chinese, 1639
XXI. Cheng Cheng-Kung (Koxinga) and the Third Massacre of the Chinese, 1662
XXII. Tingco and the Fourth Massacre of the Chinese, 1686
XXIII. The Fifth Massacre of the Chinese, 1762
XXIV. Chinese Population in the Philippines
XXV. The Chinese Community
XXVI. Chinese Contribution to the Philippines
XXVII. A Chinese General in the Philippine Revolution
XXVIII. Jose Rizal — Pride of the Chinese as well as the Malay Race
XXIX. Conclusion

Appendix
Lists
Maps
Bibliography

Part II.

SOME OBJECTIVE OBSERVATION ON THE CHINESE COMMUNITY AS A MAJORITY GROUP IN SINGAPORE'S NATION-BUILDING (A Historical Study on the Current Situation in Southeast Asia)

By Wu Ching-Hong
Associate Professor
Nanyang University, Singapore

The Asian historians will go to the Manila Conference with diverse cultural backgrounds. They will seek a harmony and a healthy co-operation among peoples who cherish diverse ways of life. For us, modern history of Southeast Asia is the history of "our times." I had to choose this topic for the following discussion intended to present an analysis on the so-called "Chinese Problem" in Southeast Asia with which all of mankind should be concerned because this region today is becoming of increasing importance in the world.

Almost 200,000,000 people live in Southeast Asia, one of the world's richest and least developed areas. More than thirteen million of them are Chinese who form, in most of the countries where they have settled, a nearly unassimilated but economically indispensable community. Asia is aflame with nationalism. It is a nationalism compounded of different feeling and sense. Recent years have seen riots and innumerable government restrictions placed against the Chinese group. Usually they could be a dynamic element in any nation's economy, but some independent governments are inclined to tolerate them only to the extent that they are recognized as a necessary evil. Some countries are confronted with what is commonly known as the "minority problem" or the "Chinese Problem" — the problem of what to do with the "aliens in their midst." In fact, for every economic ill that besets a country in this region today, the blame is more or less laid at the Chinese group. I am trying to view the current situation from another angle — a bird's eye perspective on Singapore's Chinese community as a majority group. If there are or should be problems caused by the Chinese as a minority group, what has been or will be done by them as a majority group?

The situation in Singapore, a new state where the population is 80 per cent Chinese, is a best example for observing the aspect of affairs of the Chinese as a powerful group. China for the last one thousand years has been sending a steady stream of people and cultural influences into this region, maybe especially Singapore In Singapore large segments of the economic life and so on have been controlled by the Chinese for many years. Such a present majority group even with government power, while it might have caused certain frustrations to the minority groups in this country, is actually promoting an integration of different cultural patterns to a single point of view — the Malayan, absolutely not the Chinese, consciousness. It is truly amazing and heartwarming that the people of so many bloods could live and work so harmoniously together. For this reason I have endeavored to indicate the nature of the prevalent state in this country. It is hoped that this rather casual treatment will stimulate further study and find a proper solution to the so-called "Chinese Problem," if it exists, in any country in this region. This region today is not united, not by any means. The peoples of many countries have lived side by side for a long time but they are hardly acquainted with each other. The sooner right and practical steps are taken to rectify this deplorable situation the better it will be for all concerned.

But what and how are the steps going to face the divisive nationalist movements? How can they soften the problem of nationalism to which peoples and countries stick with stubbornness or jealousy? How can they resolve the antagonisms of race and color, of preferences and configurations? For out of the crucible of World War II emerged a shining and terrible lesson: that unless nations live as good neighbors, and men as brothers, there can be lasting peace in the world. This is the moral foundation of the United Nations, and it is the bedrock of one-world idea upon which the main aim of the Singapore Chinese as well as the Chinese everywhere rests. Many Western scholars feel that one solution to the problem of the overseas Chinese is assimilation. But assimilation will not come as long as their sense of loyalty to the Chinese homeland is played upon by their own government. Nor will it come while indigeous Southeast Asian governments discriminate against their Chinese minorities, making it difficult for them to obtain citizenship or develop the united conscience. Under such disintegrative tendencies the majority Chinese in Singapore is undertaking a wonderful responsibility to seek a recognition of the ideals they hold with all the minorities in common — a concern of man as a spiritual being, a respect for dignity and status of the individual, and a desire for freedom and progress.

Singapore above all has been affected by its geography and population. Because it was a free port and an entrepot, and is a new state now, the attitude of neighbouring countries toward this place was of vital importance. It must take care to ensure that it should not be dragged into any purely domestic disputes in these countries. The growth of a nation is often greatly weakened by the racial division. Singapore is at the moment engaged in the historic task of creating one nation out of its multi-racial populace, but the fact remains that the bulk of its population is Chinese. Most of its cultural and economic activities are in the hands of the Chinese. If the

Chinese intend to foster and glorify Chinese culture, then Singapore will eventually become a bulwark for Chinese culture overseas. If the Chinese devote themselves to their own profit at the expense of the minority groups, Singapore will become a center for overseas Chinese refugees who are victims of the recent anti-Chinese movements in some countries. It is remarkable that the Singapore Chinese realize this situation and the government, including many leaders of Chinese blood, has laid the permanent foundation stones for the future.

One of the problems facing Malaya and Singapore is to suppress communalism and chauvinism. Then, proclaiming Malay to be the state's national language, the Singapore government gave the assurance that all four streams of education would be given equal treatment. The government indicated that the only road for the Chinese in Singapore was to identify themselves with the peoples of Southeast Asian countries. It is the aim of the Chinese community to bring together the Malayan Chinese and make them all loyal, firstly to Singapore, seecondly, to the whole Malaya, thirdly. to this region, and lastly, to the world. The Chinese did and are doing everything possible for the progress and happiness of this new nation. In this nation "Chinese First" is meaningless and unexampled.

The universities in Singapore are going side by side to eliminate communalism and chauvinism. Singapore will be the venue for the first international conference of Southeast Asian historians early next year sponsored by the University of Malaya. Nanyang University, established by the Chinese community, is considered as a Malayan university which for the immediate future will use Chinese as the chief medium of instruction. In practice, this university has been using three major media of instruction. It was established on the age-old tradition that "all men are brothers." The students have again and again proclaimed their whole-hearted willingness to devote everything to the nation-building. This university has provided opportunities and facilities for the Southeast Asian Studies.

In short, a Singapore consciousness and a truly Malayan culture are growing. They could be seen everywhere in Singapore. This nation's development influenced by the majority Chinese will be a strong basis for the whole region's solidarity.

# # #

BOOK REVIEWS

by C. O. Resurreccion

HIGHER EDUCATION AND PHILIPPINE CULTURE

Report submitted by the Ateneo
Centennial Committee on Education
and Philippine Culture, Teodoro
Evangelista, chairman.
Editors: James B. Reuter, S.J., Miguel A. Bernad, S.J.,
and Roman A. Cruz, Jr.
Ateneo de Manila, 1960
196 pages

This is a tentative report to the Rector of the Ateneo de Manila submitted by special committees representing the various disciplines to commemorate the centenary of the founding of the Ateneo (1859-1959).

In the words of President Teodoro Evangelista of Far Eastern University, Chairman of the General Committee on Education and Philippine Culture, Ateneo Centennial Celebration, the Report is "the joint product of some of the country's foremost authorities in various academic and professional fields," who were invited by the Ateneo "to make a fresh, serious and candid re-assessment of higher education in the Philippines, with the sincere intent of contributing towards it improvement."

The editors note in the Preface that the various reports are not only at variance among themselves but also do not wholly represent the official policy of the Ateneo. Since the members of the committees are recognized authorities and deserve a hearing, and in the name of academic freedom, the editors published the reports as they are.

The little volume carries an excellent introduction by the overall chairman of the committees, Dr. Teodoro Evangelista. He asserts that "if we are to be true to our ideals as a nation, if we are to be true to our culture, if we are to be true to the fulfilment of our history's aspirations and rise to the demands of the future on our country, we must first be true to the ends of education." Saying that education must first of all seek to be *perfective* before it attempts to be "practical," that education must be *liberal* before anything else, before it is *utilitarian,* Evangelista urges a change of certain prevailing attitudes which look upon education as nothing more than a service tool. For while education "must equip the student with the necessary tools for making a living," Evangelista argued, "it must place the primacy on the cultivation of his highest human faculties: the faculty of thought and the faculty of decision, his intellect and his will."

Earnestly recommended to the attention of national policy-makers and educational leaders because of its candid and dispassionate appraisal of the state of education now obtaining in the country, its richness of thought, and its courageous but thoroughly considered recommendations, the Ateneo Centennial Report is expected to kindle a revolution if it is not to remain as a mere academic exercise. That is to say, "a revolution not only in the content, structure and methods of our system of education, a revolution not only in the prevalent set-up of our schools, but more profoundly a revolution in our minds and attitudes."

In this age of postwar reconstruction when we are supposed to be building and strengthening our own "house of intellect" (with apology to Jacques Barzun), the framework of the educational edifice has shown evidentiary weaknesses and stands precariously ready to totter on the slightest seismic disturbance. *Higher Education and Philippine Culture* is supposed not only to point out the defects and ills of our present educational system but also to prescribe the remedies. It is expected to restore our "universities into what, by tradition and by definition, each of them should be: a 'community of scholars,' an 'assemblage of learned men,' a fountainhead of learning, a place not only for the imparting of skills and the transmission of knowledge but also for the pursuit and investigation of new truths, and, most important, a place for the development of the highest human faculties."

Thus, the Committee on Art despairs of the fact that "art in our schools has not been given its proper place in the scale of educational values or that its true meaning has been obscured, if not altogether ignored, by faulty implementation." It suggests, *inter alia,* the inclusion of a one-year integrated art course for college students as a prerequisite to graduation and the creation of a Department of Culture to take charge of developing, preserving, and disseminating our cultural heritage.

The Committee on Literature notes with a feeling of frustration the adolescent state of Philippine literature which it attributes to (1) the unfortunate though well-meaning restoration by legislation of the Spanish language as a vehicle for purely functional communication and for literary expression; (2) dearth of good writers because of the present unprofound and narrow cultural information being given to most students today; and (3) absence of wider and better educated reading public. It recommends intensification of the teaching of literature in the colleges and that the program of studies in private colleges should be drawn up by the colleges themselves, instead of dictated by the legislature or by the Department of Education.

The Committee on History was assigned "to inquire into the present state of research in Philippine history and the teaching of the same in our colleges and universities." Its findings point to the fact that the absence of elan for research and the prevailing confusion and inaccuracies of teaching materials are not so much due to the lack of scholars and good teachers as to the unavailability of historical "materials and tools to do the job, and the training to do it well."

The Committee on Law proposes a shift of emphasis in legal education. "There must be more emphasis on the importance of moral value and of subordinating ourselves to ethical considerations. . . There must be more emphasis on the fact that educators must impart knowledge, not for the sake of knowledge itself, but as a means to develop wisdom. . . There must be more emphasis on those things which are fundamental, because they are required by the Constitution, because without them no nation can grow and be strong or even endure, and because they are essential to the full development of the faculties of the individual."

The Committee on Economics concludes its report with the observation that the generally unsatisfactory quality of the supply of locally trained economists shall remain unchanged until such time as "the demand for trained economists shall have increased and the number and competence of instructors in economics shall have improved."

The Committe on Science concerned itself with the improvement of science education, such as the training of science teachers, selective admission of science students, improvement of the science curriculum, the putting of equal emphasis on Board and non-Board subjects, the creation of a science atmosphere, the harmful effects of spoon-feeding students, the teachers' and students' load, the size of classes, student apprenticeship, and improvement of equipment and facilities.

The Committee on Medicine expressed identical concern as that of the Committee on Science. It goes on further, however, to recommend that "the government should create a favorable environment for philanthropy by revising its tax laws so that donors to tax-exempt educational institutions are allowed to deduct such donations from their taxable income on a graduated scale if not totally."

The essentiality of philosophy to the completion of education is emphasized by the report of the Committee on Philosophy, which presents a discussion of the historical development of the different philosophic currents in Philippine education, as well as suggestions to improve the curriculum and the methods of teaching philosophy.

The Committee on Language based its recommendations on "policy of multilingualism." The recommendations expressly mention the home language (vernacular), Pilipino, and English. There is a conspicuous absence of Spanish. This reviewer believes, however, that the rationale for the policy of multilingualism clearly includes Spanish for its utilitarian convenience.

The special committees representing the various disciplines and their respective chairman are; *Art,* Mrs. Purita Kalaw-Ledesma; *Literature,* Rev. Miguel A. Bernad, S.J.; *History,* Rev. Horacio de la Costa, S.J.; *Law,* Justice Roberto Concepcion; *Economics,* Mr. Sixto K. Roxas; *Sociology,* Mr. Arturo Tanco; Science, Dr. Paulino J. Garcia; *Medicine,* Dr. Agerico B. M. Sison; *Philosophy,* Dr. Conrado Aquino; *Theology,* Rev. Francisco Demetrio, S.J.; and *Language,* Dr. Jose Villa Panganiban.

The foregoing is but a limited cross-section of the book. *Higher Education and Philippine Culture* should be read in its entirety to appreciate it. It is a distinct contribution to Philippine educational research, a veritable fountainhead of information and ideas on Philippine culture. We congratulate the Ateneo de Manila for its scholarly and authoritative Report.

THE FUTURE AS HISTORY

by Robert L. Heilbroner
Harper & Brothers
New York, 1960
217 pages

In *Force and Freedom* which contains his lectures on the interpretation of history delivered at the University of Basel from 1868 to 1871, Jacob Burckhardt states that foreknowledge of the future is undesirable and beyond man's power, saying that "a future known in advance is an absurdity."

A century later, in our time, Robert L. Heilbroner maintains that knowledge of the future is desirable and predictable. The future as mirror of the present is desirable because it enables us "to comprehend the meaning of the struggles of our time." The predictability of the future is possible because, although the future may appear to be inscrutable for us as individuals, it is not impenetrable for human society as a whole. For, he says, "as a society we move into the future on the grand dynamic of history. It is this grandiose design which we must discover if we are to understand the historic context of our time, with all its realities projecting toward the future."

The book is divided into four parts. In the first part (The Encounter with History) the author presents the forces of history as conditioned by the parochial and sheltered "philosophy of optimism." This historical attitude was inspired by the successes of democracy and capitalism and the revolution in science and technology. Moving on to the twentieth century, we find both democracy and capitalism precariously holding on to a tenuous thread. Man's historical encounter has made the first half of the century an era of disenchantment; he appears helpless and confused, staggered by the impact of the relentless direction of social forces. "History less and less presents itself as something we *make* and more and more as something we find made for us." That our national course is being steered by historical currents over which we seem to have little or no control is, according to Heilbroner, due to the fact that "the common attribute of contemporary events is not their responsiveness to our designs, but their indifference to them."

The second part (The Closing-in of History) discusses the impact of the new war technology both as a weapon and as a machine, the socializing influence of science and technology, the awakening of the colonial world and the effect of economic development, the resurgence of nationalism and the drift away from capitalism, the expanding role of communism and of western socialism, the failure of European capitalism, and the growing inquietude generated by ideological conflicts. These trends project themselves from the present and help mold the shape and character of the future. However, Heilbroner observes, the major currents move in a direction opposite to expectations and with such a force that brooks uncertainty as to their manageability and changeability. The challenges to America are disquieting.

America's chosen counterthrust to history is critically analyzed in the third part of the book (The American Counter-Challenge). Is the counterthrust effective enough? With the new war technology, America suffered two meaningful losses: the loss of its accustomed military security and the loss of any military solution to the communist problem. Underdeveloped countries have sought in economic collectivism their hope for the realization of their national aspirations. The possibilities are strong that this collectivism, which veers more and more to the left, coupled with American economic growth and prosperity, serves only to widen the gap between America and the underdeveloped countries, with America taking all the blame for the frustrations and resentments of the have-nots. Then, too, Europe is drifting away from traditional capitalism towards planned economy. Even the traditional American society under the impact of technological and scientific development, Heilbroner notes, exhibits strong tendencies to undergo transformation, resulting in the socialization of life, the rise of the welfare state, and the growth of military bureaucracy. "The problem then," states the author, "is the degree to which our blind economic momentum makes it impossible to respond effectively to the technological, political and economic forces which are bringing about a closing-in of our historic future."

In the fourth part (The Future as History), Heilbroner ventures to give the probabilities with a vein of pessimism. History, he says. "will go against us for a long time, and that the trend of events, both at home and abroad, will persist in directions which we find inimical and uncongenial." The West has become no longer the spearhead as it used to be but the target of current historic forces. It stands on the brink of tragedy, of disillusion and abandonment, of indifference and cynicism.

To avoid this tragedy, fortitude and understanding are needed. But such fortitude and understanding do not come from optimism, pessimism, or even defiance of the ruthless onslaught of history's forces. Man must behold the future without "succumbing to false hopes or to an equally false despair." He needs "a broad and compassionate comprehension" of historical developments, of their consequences, of their promise and their price. This historic understanding is the only source of strength to bear trials and difficulties with an integrity of mind and spirit.

Heilbroner concludes with a kernel of advice. "We cannot help living in history. We can only fail to be aware of it. If we are to meet, endure, and transcend the trials and defeats of the future — for trials and defeats there are certain to be — it can only be from a point of view which, seeing the future as part of the sweep of history, enables us to establish our place in that immense procession in which is incorporated whatever hope humankind may have."

What is the grand dynamic of history which Heilbroner said "we must discover if we are to understand the historic context of our time?" In his words he describes it as "deteriorating," "a worsening of the outlook," "the metamorphosis of progress into retrogression," a "massive and crude surgery." Diagnosing the present situation, he said that "what is at bottom a movement of hope and well-being for the inarticulate and inadequate masses of mankind is a fearful threat to the delicate and now gravely exposed civilization of the articulate and advanced few."

Throughout the book there is a pervasive tragic and pessimistic tone. It plays up "the deepening confusion" and "the ambiguity of events." Heilbroner gives profuse (but select) illustrations of the influence of the deterministic theory which reduces man's creative role to the minimum. Yet in the same breadth and length, he takes cognizance of the voluntaristic theory which call upon man to employ science and technology in managing history. The first theory denies and the second admits the existence of transcendent minds. No contradiction is more obvious, no confusion more deep.

☆ ☆ ☆

It is the true office of history to represent the events themselves, together with the counsels, and to leave the observations and conclusions thereupon to the liberty and faculty of every man's judgment.

—BACON

History, to be above evasion or dispute, must stand on documents, not on opinions.

—LORD ACTION

The greatness of an epoch or a cause depends on the quota of those capable of sacrifice, on whatever side it may be . . . on devotion to something, whatever it be, with complete extinction of personal vanity.

—BURCKHARDT

MALOLOS: THE CRISIS OF THE REPUBLIC

by Teodoro Agoncillo
University of the Philippines
Quezon City, 1960
Pages xii, 799

A worthy sequel to THE REVOLT OF THE MASSES: THE STORY OF BONIFACIO AND THE KATIPUNAN, this second opus of Teodoro Agoncillo is written in the same inimitable style — detailed and documented, rich and interesting, lucid and powerful, analytical and subjective.

Unlike THE REVOLT, which is a biography of the "noble plebeian" against a backdrop of the Katipunan society during the first epoch of the Philippine Revolution, MALOLOS: THE CRISIS OF THE REPUBLIC is a biography of the erstwhile Republic during its critical days that was the second epoch. It is the saga of two men and their masterpiece. In the opinion of this reviewer, the book could be captioned, in paraphrase of the title of the first book, with MALOLOS: THE STORY OF AGUINALDO AND MABINI AND THE REPUBLIC. For just as Bonifacio and the Katipunan forged an inseparable complementarity during the first phase of the revolution, so did Aguinaldo and Mabini have an insoluble nexus with the child of their creative genius — the Republic of Malolos.

Like THE REVOLT, a dominant theme of MALOLOS is that the Revolution was the handiwork of the masses. The intellectuals and the wealthy, who constituted the middle class, were merely fence-sitters or saboteurs that betrayed the Revolution. The book begins with "the execution of Andres Bonifacio, founder of the Katipunan and initiator of the revolution against Spain, at Mt. Buntis on May 10, 1897," and ends with "the Americans . . . succeeded in liquidating the last of the guerrilla patriots." This was in 1907, the book covering a full decade of history. But the crisis of the Republic appeared to have ended with the fall of Mabini and of Aguinaldo in 1901. Mabini was exiled to Guam, while Aguinaldo was captured in Palanan by the Americans with the aid of — and this is one of the bitter ironies of history — Macabebes, his own countrymen.

From Biyak-na-bato, the rock of refuge where General Aguinaldo holed up during the pacification campaign of Governor General Fernando Primo de Rivera, the story moves on to the difficult and protracted but successful mediation by Pedro A. Paterno that resulted in a truce between the Filipino rebels and the Spanish Colonial Government subject to certain conditions such as the exile of the revolutionary leaders to Hong Kong. While in exile, the Filipino leaders enlisted the sympathy of the Americans, the Spanish-American war having broken out, returned to the Philippines and proclaimed the independence of the Philippines in Kawit, Cavite, on June 12, 1898. Meanwhile the Americans destroyed the Spanish Fleet in Manila Bay and with the help of Filipino soldiers conquered Manila. Contrary to expectations and to the pre-understanding between the Filipino leaders and the Americans in Hong Kong, the American forces proceeded to establish American sovereignty, thereby precipitating a rift with the Filipinos. In the ensuing Filipino-American war, the death of General Antonio Luna, a brilliant military strategist, destroyed what perhaps was the only strong defensive arm of the Aguinaldo government. Soon after Luna's death, General Aguinaldo and his forces were fleeing to the mountains in the north with the Americans in hot pursuit after them until Aguinaldo's capture in Palanan.

MALOLOS appears to have a melodramatic orientation. It conjures a "conflict between the 'Haves' and the 'Have nots'." To bolster his "conflict" theory, Agoncillo plays up what seemed to him to be the power struggle in the Malolos Congress between the "Haves" and the "Have nots." The classification is unfortunate. Though the terms denote classes of people that are "propertied" and "propertyless" — concepts that are diametrical semantically — they do not mean that the individuals concerned cannot live harmoniously together in society. Moreover, it is submitted, property control was not the basis of Agoncillo's choice of the terms. The basis was quantitative, numerical. "For convenience," he writes (p. 638), "the **majority** of the Congress may be dubbed the 'Haves' and the **minority**, together with Aguinaldo, Mabini, and a few of his associates, as the 'Have nots'." (Underscoring supplied.) It follows that the use of the terms "Haves" and "Have nots" are not only inaccurate but misleading. Considering the functional role of these terms in the subversionary propaganda against the ideological system of democracy and capitalism, their use becomes all the more regrettable.

That there were differences of opinion in the Malolos Congress was a healthy evidence of the reality of freedom which the Filipinos aspired and fought for. The Malolos Congress was bursting with enthusiasm. After more than three centuries under Spain, the Filipinos breathed for the first time the sweet air of liberty. That Cayetano Arellano clashed with Apolinario Mabini was but to be expected in a Congress composed of a galaxy of the country's best legal minds, all eager to exercise their constitutional prerogative of the freedom of thought and expression and with it the freedom of dissent. That one happened to be a "Have" and the other a "Have not" was, if Agoncillo's nomenclature is to be accepted, purely coincidental and immaterial.

The last chapter (Perspectives) is an excellent summing up of the second phase of the Philippine Revolution. Here, Agoncillo the historian has become an analyst and interpreter; in the previous chapters, he is just a **raconteur.** Here, the historian is an artist, a subjectivist, who views historical events with the prism of his own thoughts and moods, his own conviction and inspiration; heretofore, he has only brought to focus a selected panoramic segment of Philippine History. Here in this chapter, Agoncillo has achieved a subtle blending of history as a science and as an art.

One is tempted to gather the impression, rightly, that the Perspectives is a fitting panegyric to Aguinaldo for his constructive leadership and to Mabini for his intellectual sublimity and spiritual magnanimity. "Just as Aguinaldo, the undisputed leader of the masses, may be considered the personification of the Revolution, so Mabini, who was their intellectual spokesman, was its metaphor. Aguinaldo personified the will power and folk wisdom of the people; Mabini impliedly expressed the form and color of their ideals, their longings, and their aspirations. In their thinking and behavior, they summarized the elan and the anti-climax of a hectic period that challenged man's courage, integrity, honesty, patriotism, and vital force. As such, both were the Revolution."

The concluding chapter is also a merciless attack against the actuations, the intrigues and machinations of the "Haves." To his own question, What, then, were the causes of the fall of the Republic? Agoncillo answered: "Foremost among the factors that contributed to this fall was the betrayal of the "Haves." . . . Instead of suffering with and for the people, the leaders who had successfully isolated Mabini and 'captured' Aguinaldo now attempted to despoil their own government of whatever means it had with which to sustain a balanced society, in the first place, and with which to fight the then potential enemy, in the second place."

With profuse notes and excellent appendices, the book is undoubtedly a valuable addition to Philippine historiography.

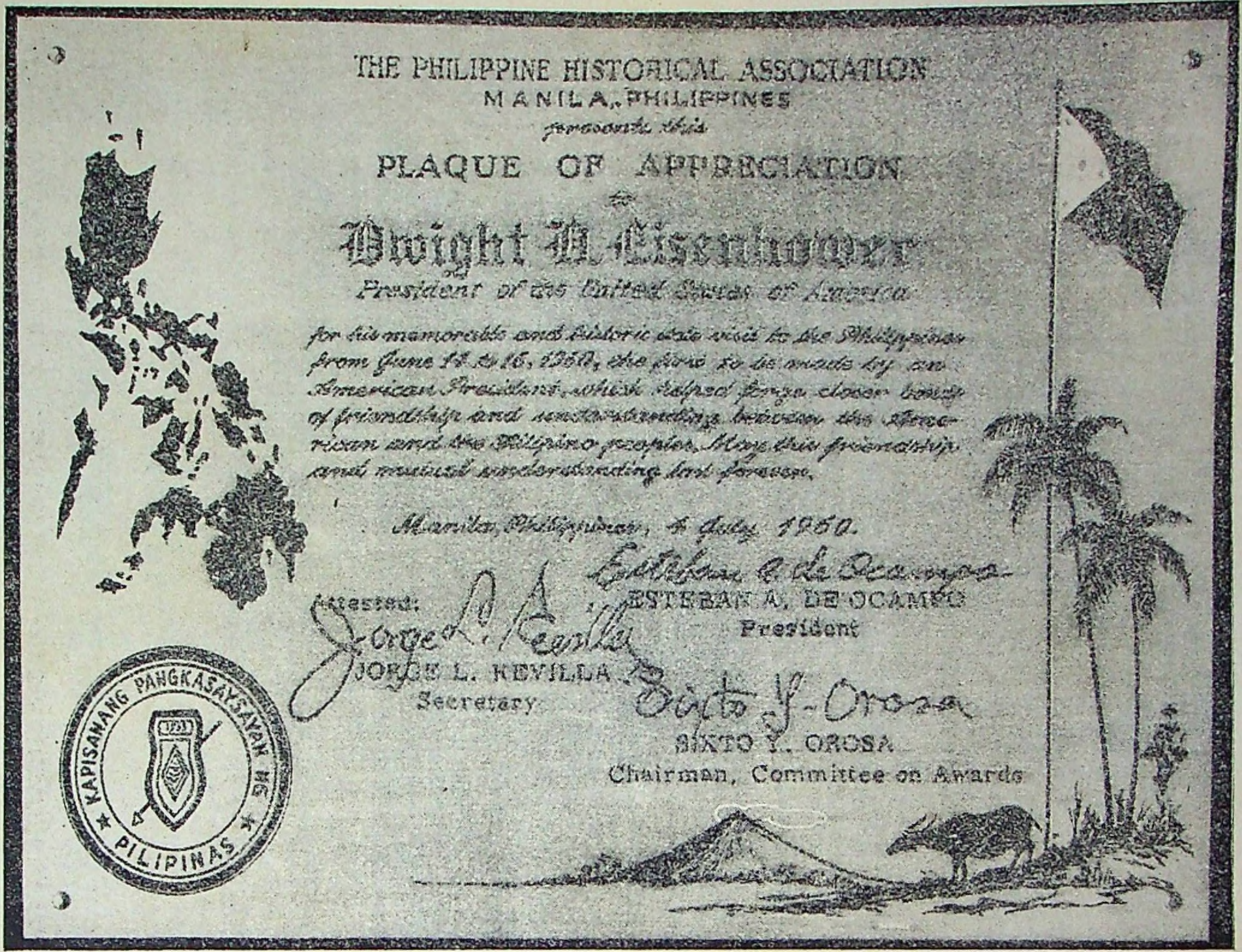
☆ ☆ ☆

Thou shalt cultivate the special gifts which God has granted thee working and studying according to thy ability, never leaving the path of righteousness and justice, in order to attain thy own perfection, by means whereof thou shalt contribute to the progress of humanity . . .

Apolinario Mabini,

from *The True Decalogue*

President Esteban A. de Ocampo of the Philippine Historical Association presents to American Ambassador John D. Hickerson the plaque awarded by the Association to United States President Dwight D. Eisenhower. Looking on are Dr. Sixto Y. Orosa of the Committee on Awards, on the right. and Prof. Jorge L. Revilla, secretary of the PHA on the left. (See text of the plaque award on the opposite page.)



THE PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
MANILA, PHILIPPINES
presents this

PLAQUE OF APPRECIATION
to
Dwight D. Eisenhower
President of the United States of America

for his memorable and historic state visit to the Philippines from June 14 to 16, 1960, the first to be made by an American President, which helped forge closer bonds of friendship and understanding between the American and the Filipino peoples. May this friendship and mutual understanding last forever.

Manila, Philippines, 4 July 1960.

Esteban A. de Ocampo
ESTEBAN A. DE OCAMPO
President

Attested:
Jorge L. Revilla
JORGE L. REVILLA
Secretary

Sixto Y. Orosa
SIXTO Y. OROSA
Chairman, Committee on Awards

Philippine Historical Association

AWARD

to

GABRIEL F. FABELLA

Professor of History and Head of the Department of History, University of the Philippines.

Director, Clark Air Base Branch, University of the Philippines

Assemblyman for Romblon in the First National Assembly (1935-38)

Founder of Romblon College, Tablas Academy, Southern Mindoro Academy, Bauan Institute, Banton High School and Fabella High School

First President, Philippine Association of Private Secondary Schools

Adviser, U.P. Student Nationalist Movement, and of the UP Chapter of PHI ALPHA THETA honor society in history in the UP

First President, Philippine Historical Association, who mapped and carried out its notable activities, specifically:

(1) The founding of the **Historical Bulletin** (formerly **Buletin ng Kapisanang Pangkasaysayan ng Pilipinas**) which has come out regularly since July 1957, dedicating special numbers to honor great Filipinos like Emilio Aguinaldo, Sergio Osmeña, and Claro M. Recto.

(2) The successful celebration of the Golden Anniversary of the First Philippine Assembly on October 16, 1957, which was proclaimed by President Carlos P. Garcia a special national holiday throughout the Philippines; and the commemoration of other significant events in Philippine History; and

(3) The encouragement of historical studies and research, himself setting the example.

In recognition of his invaluable services which enhanced the prestige of the Philippine Historical Association and of his other achievements, its Board of Governors hereby awards this simple plaque at Quezon City, Philippines, to Gabriel F. Fabella on this eighteenth day of March 1960, his 62nd birthday.

(Sgd.) **ESTEBAN DE ACAMPO**
President

Attested:

(Sgd.) **JORGE L. REVILLA**
Secretary

For the Board of Governors

Domingo Abella
Celedonio A. Ancheta
Ricardo A. Arcilla
Horacio de la Costa, S.J.
Pacifico Dumandan Sr.

Sixto Y. Orosa, Sr.
Celedonio Resurreccion
Leopoldo R. Serrano
Nicolas Zafra

Philippine Historical Association

MANILA, PHILIPPINES

HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

In recognition of his patriotic labors and achievements on behalf of his country and people, thus making the history of the Philippines memorable, THE PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, *by a unanimous vote of its Board of Governors, confers Honorary Membership upon*

GENERAL EMILIO AGUINALDO Y FAMY

Given at Kawit, Cavite, this twenty-second day of March, in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty.

ESTEBAN A. DE OCAMPO
President

Attested:

JORGE L. REVILLA
Secretary

The Philippine Historical Association

MANILA, PHILIPPINES

presents this

CERTIFICATE OF APPRECIATION

to

PROFESSOR TEODORO A. AGONCILLO

for active participation in and generous support to the promotion of the aims and purposes of this organization, more particularly for

his outstanding books on Philippine History

IN WITNESS HEREOF we have affixed hereunder our signatures and the seal of the Association this 23rd day of September 1960.

ATTESTED:

JORGE L. REVILLA
Secretary

ESTEBAN A. DE OCAMPO
President

SIXTO Y. OROSA
Chairman, Committee on Awards

FROM THE MAIL BOX

From President Dwight D. Eisenhower:

Dear Dr. Orosa:

I am grateful to you, and the officers and members of the Philippine Historical Association, for your kindness in presenting to me a special edition of the Rizal issue of the "Philippine Historical Bulletin." The volume will be a valued memento of my visit here.

I wish you every success in your efforts to bring about a wider understanding and appreciation of Philippine history.

With my gratitude and best wishes.

From Ambassador John D. Hickerson
of the United States of America

Thanks very much for your letter of June 9 and for the inscribed copy of the Special Rizal Issue of the Historical Bulletin (June, 1960), dedicated to the national hero of the Philippines, Dr. Jose P. Rizal.

My secretary tells me that you were good enough to bring this volume in person to the Embassy on June 10, at a time when I was deeply engrossed in the preparation for President Eisenhower's visit. It is now that I am catching up with my correspondence and that I have an opportunity to express to you my very deep appreciation for this volume, which I shall read with a great deal of interest.

From Ambassador W. Hofer
of Switzerland

I thank you sincerely for your letter of June 21, 1960 and for the copy of the Special Rizal Issue of the Historical Bulletin (June, 1960) dedicated to Dr. Jose P. Rizal which you thoughtfully sent to me.

The book will be read with a great deal of interest, I assure you, and will constitute a particularly valuable addition to the library of the Embassy.

From Senator Arturo M. Tolentino

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of the special issue of the Historical Bulletin for Dr. Rizal. I am sure I will keenly appreciate the articles contained therein.

With sincere thanks and personal regards.

From Hon. Jose E. Romero
Secretary of Education

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 2, 1960, furnishing me with five (5) complimentary copies of the June, 1960 issue of the Historical Bulletin, which is dedicated to our foremost hero, Dr. Jose Rizal.

I wish to thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me the copies, which will form as valuable addition to my library.

In this connection, I wish to thank you also for the alterations that you made on my article. I hope that the article will be of value at this time when we are about to celebrate the first centenary of Dr. Rizal.

From Mayor Arsenio H. Lacson
City of Manila

Thank you for sending me a copy of the Special Rizal Issue of the *Historical Bulletin* (June, 1960).

After scanning the contents of this issue, I immediately feel assured of some interesting hours in discovering more about our greatest hero.

From Mr. William H. Morris,
Chairman, Board of Directors,
The United States Educational Foundation
in the Philippines

Thank you for the copy of June, 1960 Historical Bulletin. I certainly enjoyed reading it and will keep it as a valuable material on the life of your hero, Dr. Jose P. Rizal.

From Supreme Commander S. F. de la Cruz
Order of the Knights of Rizal

I have read with keen interest the congratulatory messages to you for your work on the special Rizal issue of the "Philippine Historical Bulletin." May I add my own personal congratulations to the many felicitations already extended to you. I am sure all Knights of Rizal feel as I do in appreciating this fine piece of work you have done on our national hero.

Kind personal regards.

From Mr. V. G. Suarez
Secretary and Administrative Officer
Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission

Thank you for a copy of the Special Rizal Issue of the *Historical Bulletin*. I have gone over the book and found it to be a rich source of information on our national hero. I am sure every student of Rizal will appreciate its rich reference value.

Thank you again and congratulations for your fine editorship and selection of quality articles you have incorporated in the compilation.

From Dr. Teodoro Evangelista
President, Far Eastern University

Thank you for the copy of the Special Rizal Issue (June, 1960) of the *Historical Bulletin* which you compiled and edited.

It is an excellent issue. I consider it a valuable addition to my private library.

With best wishes for continued success, I remain

From Mr. Teodoro Locsin
Staff Member, Philippines Free Press

My belated thanks for the fine *Historical Bulletin* issue dedicated to Dr. Rizal which you sent me last month.

I should have thanked you before this, but — why make excuses. I have none.

Better late than never. So, thank you.

From Mr. Isidro L. Retizos
Managing Editor, Capitol Publishing House, Inc., Quezon City

Received from Dr. Sixto Y. Orosa, compiler and editor, a copy of the "Special Rizal Issue," for which I extend to him my profound thanks because of his beautiful dedication for my personal edification. I wish to thank also the Philippine Historical Association for the copy of the book and to give it my sincere compliments for having turned out a very priceless publication on our hero, Dr. Jose P. Rizal.

From Dr. A. G. Sison, M.D.

Mi familia y yo le estamos muy agradecidos por haber tenido la bondad y fina atención de dedicarnos un número del "Historical Bulletin, Special Rizal Issue," Junio, 1960.

Su editorial y su artículo resaltan entre los meritoriosos y valiosos artículos de la publicación, por cuyo motivo le felicito cordialmente.

Reciba nuestros afectuosos recuerdos, haciendolos extensivos a su querida esposa; entretanto se queda de Vd.,

Su siempre invariable amigo y colega.

From Dr. Jose P. Bantug

Le felicito por el "Special Rizal Issue" del *Historical Bulletin* que ha recibido de manos de una de sus hijas, con una cariñosa dedicatoria. Es uno de los mejores números del Boletin que han llegado a mis manos. Honra la memoria de Rizal en la forma que el mismo hubiera querido, si viviese — culturalmente.

Ambeth Ocampo

AMBETH R. OCAM

Republic of the Philippines
Department of Public Works and Communication
BUREAU OF POSTS
Manila

SWORN STATEMENT

(Required by Act 2580)

The undersigned, MAXIMO P. FABELLA, business manager of HISTORICAL BULLETIN, published quarterly in English, at 92 Virginia, Quezon City, after having been duly sworn in accordance with law hereby submits the following statement of ownership, management and circulation, etc. which is required by Act 2580, as amended by Commonwealth Act No. 201:

NAME	ADDRESS
Editor: DR. SIXTO Y. OROSA	55 Panay Avenue, Q. C.
Bus. Mgr.: MAXIMO P. FABELLA	
Owner: PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION	92 Virginia, Quezon City
Publisher: PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION	92 Virginia, Quezon City
Printer: KAYUMANGGI PRESS	312 Quezon Blvd. Ext., Quezon City
Office of Publication: 92 Virginia,	Quezon City

If publication is owned by a corporation, stockholders owning one per cent or more of the total amount of stocks: NON-STOCK

Bondholders, mortgages, or other security holders owning one per cent or more of total amount of security: NONE

In case of publication other than daily, total number of copies printed and circulated of the last issue dated December, 1959;

1. Sent to paid subscribers	150
2. Sent to others than paid subscribers	100
TOTAL	250

(Sgd.) MAXIMO P. FABELLA
Business Manager

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN to before me this 1st day of April, 1960, at Manila, the affiant exhibiting his Residence Certificate No. A-5102290 issued at at Quezon City, on February 1, 1960.

(Sgd.) AMBROSIO SAN PEDRO
Postal Inspector

Act 2580 requires that this sworn statement be filed with the Bureau of Posts on **April 1 and October 1 of each year.**

NOTE: This form is exempt from the payment of documentary stamp tax.

M C S ENTERPRISES

FILIPINIANA ★ RIZALIANA
PUBLISHERS ★ BOOKSELLERS
908 RIZAL AVENUE, MANILA
TEL: 3-47-50

Exclusive Distributors

PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION PUBLICATIONS

HISTORICAL BULLETIN —	Back issues, Complete Set Twelve numbers. Original Price	₱27.00
	September issue . . .	2.50
FILIPINO CIVIC CODE —	Compiled by the Civic Code Committee, Jaime C. de Veyra, Chairman . .	2.00
MONASTIC SUPREMACY IN THE PHILIPPINES,	Marcelo H. del Pilar. Translated from Spanish by Dr. Encarnacion Alzona	4.50
RIZAL: THE HISTORIAN & OTHER HISTORICAL	ESSAY, Gabriel F. Fabella	5.00
BIOGRAPHIES OF M. H. DEL PILAR, ANDRES BONIFACIO	& EMILIO JACINTO, Epifaño de los Santos	4.50

Other Publications

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE PHILIPPINES, 20 vols. 1958 ed. First & Only Filipino Library Reference Set. Approved as general reference for Secondary, normal and collegiate schools, BPS Bul. 29, S. 1958 . . . . ₱400.00

THE TRIBUNE (1942, 1943 & 1944) 12 vols. Clothbound, arranged chronologically. A running account of events in the Philippines during the Japanese occupation. , 2,500.00

For Filipiniana, particularly Rizaliana items, please communicate with us.

Printed by KAYUMANGGI PRESS — 312 Quezon Blvd. Ext., Q.C.